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ABSTRACT

These proceedings contain 19 papers from 3 of 4 symposia on the theme of frontiers and futures of adult education. Abstracts appear at the beginning of the volume. The following papers are included: "Symposium: Frontiers and Futures in International Adult Education" (Draper, Kassam, Roberts); "The Meaning of Liberation in Adult Education as Revealed by Moses Coady and the Antigonish Movement" (Alexander); "Meaning Transformation through Experience and Mentoring" (Baker); "The Maturation Process and Learning" (Brundage); "A Comparative Review of Consciousness Raising and Conscientization" (Butterwick); "Students' Choice of Delivery Format: Face-to-Face versus Distance Education" (Collins, Haughey); "Teachers and Reflection: A Description and Analysis of the Reflective Process which Teachers Use in Their Experiential Learning" (D'Andrea); "A Perceptual Model of Educational and Career Goal Attainment Behavior: The Cyclic Process of Lifelong Learning" (Hey); "The Development of a Microteaching Training Program for the Ethiopian Nutrition Institute" (Hlynka, Nwaerondu, and Ayele); "Learning Mutual Helping, Group and Citizen Participation: Preliminary Results of a Demonstration Project" (Home, Darveau-Fournier); "Women's Groups as an Example of the Roots in Defining Adult Education" (McEachern); "The Role of Adult Education in the Struggle for Survival among Black Nova Scotians between 1750 and 1945: A Social History" (Moreau); "A Critical Review of Intensive Second Language Programs for Adult Immigrants" (Painchaud); "The Assessment Centre Process: Extending Its Diagnostic Capabilities" (Ingrid Pipke); "The Andragogical Approach in Graduate Studies: Success or Failure?" (Roy-Poirier) "Origins of Adult Education in British Columbia: Insights for the Present Period" (Selman); "Through the Learning Glass: The Universities" (Thomas); "British Women with Interrupted Technological Careers: Societal Attitudes and Patterns of Childhood Socialization" (Warren); "Measuring and Managing Variables for Continuing Education Programs in a University Setting: An Econometric Model" (Wolf, Waldron); and "Adult Education and Women: Problems and Perspectives in Historical Research" (Zinman). Most of the papers contain lists of references. (KC)

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CASAE/ACEEA

CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION

L'ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE POUR L'ETUDE DE L'EDUCATION DES ADULTS

5th Annual Conference

May 30 to June 1, 1986
UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

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PROCEEDINGS

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PREFACE

This volume documents the proceedings of the fifth annual conference of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education held in Winnipeg at the University of Manitoba, May 29th to June 1st, 1986.

Our Association has grown in five short years to a membership of over 300 adult educators from every part of the country. We are pleased to present the 19 papers and the notes from three of the four symposium participants as representative of the range of research and study being carried out in the Field.

The theme for the 1986 conference was Frontiers and Futures of Adult Education. The symposium addressed this theme through an international context. The frontier motif is expressed in a number of papers through such explorations as the meaning of liberation in the context of the Antigonish Movement, the survival efforts of Black Nova Scotians for a two hundred year period, the origins of Adult Education in British Columbia and women´s issues relating to education and career development. Collectively these and other papers give us a perspective on the view of adult education as movement while others focus more on the motif of the future -- where are we going as a field and a discipline, the concepts of meaning transformation, consciousness raising, the maturation process, andragogical

PREFACE

Ce volume rassemble un compte-rendu de la cinquème conférence annuelle de l'ACEEA tenue à Winnipeg à l'University of Manitoba, du 29 mai au 1er juin 1986.

Dans l'espace de cinq courtes années, notre association a augmenté le nombre de ses membres à plus de 300 enseignants aux adultes à travers le pays. Nous sommes très heureux de vous présenter les 19 exposés ainsi que les notes venant de trois des quatres colloques participants. Ils représentent l'entendu des recherches et des études qui se poursuivent dans ce domaine. Le thème pour la conférence de 1986 était la frontière et le futur de l'éducation aux adultes. Le collogue a utilisé ce thème à travers un contexte international.

Le thème de la frontière a été exprimé dans plusieurs exposés tels que: explorations comme par exemple la signification de la libération dans le contexte du "Antigonish Movement"; les efforts des Noirs de la Nouvelle-Ecosse pour leur survivance pendant une période de deux cents ans; les origines de l'éducation aux adultes en Colombie-Britannique et les questions qui se rattachent à l'éducation de la femmes et au développement de sa carrière. Ensemble ces exposés-ci ainsi que d'autres présentent une perspective de l'éducation aux adultes comme mouvement. D'autres se concentrent plus sur le thème du futur:

Où allons-nous comme profession et comme discipline, le concept de la transformation de la signification, l'augmentation de la conscientisation, le processus de maturation, l'approche andragogique, les techniques de mesure et de

approaches, measurement and diagnostic techniques, mutual self-help, distance education, microteaching and a peek through the ´learning glass´ of the universities all point the way for us.

Our thanks are extended to Ernest Shapiro and Bill Kops for their efforts in reviewing these papers and for literally making the 1986 CASAE/ACEEA Conference possible.

We are grateful for the untiring efforts of Avon Burkholder, Secretary of CASAE/ACEEA in helping to get this document together and out to the conferees.

The papers are presented in alphabetical order except for the symposium summary which comes first. To aid the reader in the selection of readings, an author-written abstract for each paper or presentation is given at the beginning of the text following the table of contents. Only those papers actually submitted for publication appear in this document, hence not all papers as listed in the original conference program are included, and they are presented in the language in which they were received.

diagnotique, l'entre-aide, l'éducation par correspondance, micro-enseignement et un aperçu à travers le miroir des différents programmmes offerts de l'apprentissage dans les universités. Tout ceci nous indique la direction à prendre.

Nous remercions Ernest Shapiro et Bill Kops pour leurs efforts dans la révision de ces documents. Sans eux la conférence n'aurait pas eu lieu.

Nous sommes reconnaissants à Avon Burkholder , sécretaire de l' ACEEA pour avoir compilé ces documents et les avoir fait parvenir aux participants.

Les documents sont présentés en ordre alphabetique sauf le résumé du colloque qui précède. Pour aider le lecteur dans sa selection, un résumé abrégé, écrit par l'auteur, est donné au début des textes suivant la table des matières. Seulement les documents soumis pour la publication apparaissent ici. Donc, tous les présentations de la conférence ne sont pas inclus comme dans le programme. Les exposés sont dans la langue dans laquelle ils ont été présentés.

CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION
L'ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE POUR L'ETUDE DE L'EDUCATION DES ADULTES

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Alexander, A.

The meaning of liberation in adult education as revealed by Moses Coady and the Antigonish movement. -- P. 13

The Meaning of Liberation in Adult Education as Revealed by Moses Coady and the Antigonish Movement

Adult education in Canada has historical roots in the social movement tradition. Current trends tend towards the bureaucratization and professionalization of adult education which may jeopardize its strength as a social movement. Indeed, there is debate among scholars concerning whether adult education should merely liberate individuals or have a societal role.

In an attempt to understand the meaning of liberation in adult education prior to the field's bureaucratization and professionalization, the writings of Moses Coady, a leader of the Antigonish Movement, were studied. The use of qualitative research methods (a combination of grounded theory and historical-critical methods) enabled the meaning of Coady's ideas to be interpreted in context.

When Coady's ideas were interpreted in the context of his time, they revealed their nature as providing a critique of society and issuing a challenge to the existing social institutions and systems. Coady's ideas also suggest directions for contemporary adult educators.

Baker, J.

Meaning transformation through experience and mentoring. -- P. 20

Meaning Transformation Through Experience and Mentoring

This presentation will focus on the dynamics of the change processes that occur when new experience cannot be readily assimilated into the individual's current meaning-making system and will highlight three critical variables, (1) awareness, (2) opportunity, and (3) mentoring, which affect engagement in the change process.

A pattern of assisting an individual to move from a currently held meaning perspective to another through structured learning experience and guided reflection to deeper levels of awareness will be explored as a way of promoting development in late adolescence and early adulthood. The conceptual framework of the presentation represents a synthesis of developmental theories of Kegan, Mezirow and Anna Freud, and the learning theories of Piaget and Kolb.

Brundage, D.

The Maturation Process and Learning -- P. 45

The Maturation Process and Learning

The evolution of theoretical models to explicate learning and adult development has increased dramatically in the last decade. While some theorists present models which demonstrate linkages between learning and development (Cross 1981, Mezirow 1978), clear preference is given to one or another of these major areas of study. (Kolb 1984, Hunt 1983, Levinson 1978, Gould 1978, Colarusso and Nemiroff, 1982)

This paper will present an integrated model of learning and adult development showing how the four domains of learning (psychomotor, cognitive, affective, and transpersonal) converge to produce a self concept and self esteem which move along a maturational gradient. The paper will compare several complementary and contrasting models of learning and adult development. Implications for practice will be discussed.

Butterwick, S.

A Comparative Review of Consciousness Raising and Conscientization -- P. 54

Paulo Freire is frequently referenced, criticized, and praised in adult education for his perspective of liberating education which developed as a result of his experience with Latin American peasants. Closer to home, consciousness-raising is viewed as an activity which has provided a foundation for the Women's Liberation Movement. This paper contrasts and compares Freire's notion of conscientization with the feminist perspective of consciousness-raising. The author argues that comparing Freire's perspective to the feminist view is useful in two ways. It provides a way of analyzing conscientization, particularly those aspects considered generic and therefore of universal applicability, by transferring Freire's abstract descriptions into a concrete example of social movement. And further, this analysis is used as a tool for viewing the development of consciousness-raising as a liberating educational process of the feminist movement. Criticisms of both concepts are included in the comparison, and by placing them side by side the author suggests some answers and further questions regarding current concerns of the feminist movement.

Collins, F.B., & Haughey, M.

Students' Choice of Delivery Format: face-to-face vs. distance education -- P. 64

Why would students residing withing commuting distance to the university choose to register for a distance education course when the same course is offered simultaneously on campus? Some studies indicate that if students are given an option they will choose face to face instruction. This paper describes the results of a survey of Registered Nurses enrolled in a baccalaurate nursing degree program who had this option. More specifically the interviewers sought to determine not only why the learner had choosen that mode of instruction but their reasons for doing so and the factors that influenced their decision.

Eighty six percent of the registered students responded to the survey. Of these, forty eight percent chose distance education while fifty two percent attended on campus classes.

The information was obtained by semi-structured telephone interviews using a list of questions and allowing for open-ended responses.

The results indicated that among seven variables the single predominant factor in why students chose a distance education over on campus format was the ability to be employed as well as pursue a university education. Those factors influencing this decision were flexibility and control of learning time for adult, licensed professional students.

D'Andrea, A.

Teachers and Reflection: A Description and Analysis of the Reflective Process Which Teachers Use in Their Experiential Learning. -- P. 75

The purpose of this study was to learn more about how teachers' reflective activities help them to learn from their experience. This study focussed on the process of reflection from the point of view of the learner with special emphasis on the relationship of the reflective process to the learning experience. Thirty teachers from a large, urban school board, fifteen men and fifteen women from three age categories, were interviewed. They were asked to identify something which they had learned that had been important to them in their role as teachers, to recall the experiences which initiated that learning and to recall and describe the reflective activities which followed the experiences and led to learning. Data analysis of the recalled reflection revealed a sequence of reflective activities which included the attention, consideration and resolution phases. During the consideration phase the teachers considered the three themes of responsibility, values/beliefs and relationships in terms of themselves, others and/or systems. By identifying the common themes of the reflective process this work helps professional development planners and providers to address the experiential learning needs of teachers. This pioneering research, built on the theories of experiential learning, begins to organize the components of the reflective process and make them accessible to all who are interested in promoting learning in adults.

Hey, M.H.

A Perceptual Model of Educational and Career Goal Attainment Behaviour. The cyclic process of life long learning -- P. 94

For most adults the need to return to school is compounded by a forcefield of needs and difficulties. Goal attainment for adults returning to school is obscured due to a haze of societal and self inflicted difficultes. Many adults require counselling, orientation and remediation of learning skills due to disuse or maturation. Even after adults enter learning situtations that lead towards a desired goal, the progress through the maze to goal attainment is limited by socialized competence in goal perception. Later, the attainment of a new educational or career goal provides a perceptual vantage point to view new horizons previously unforseen. All of this process can be conceptualized in a gestalt of integrated models separately developed in other research in the fields of Psychology and Sociology. The integrated model has been and tested over a five year period with adults in courses from basic education to post secondary. It is anticipated that this model will provide a conceptual device for use with adults by counsellors, and teachers and ultimately experienced adult learners. This model will assit them to perceive and understand the process of revision to goal attainment.

Hlynka, D., Nwaerondu, G., & Ayele, A.

The Development of a Microteaching Training Program for the Ethiopian Nutrition Institute -- P. 109

The Ethiopian Nutrition Institute, located in Addis Ababa has recently requested an educational consultant to assist in the evaluation and re-direction of their training program. A program is in the process of being developed, based on a microteaching and reflective teaching model which will assist members of the Training Department of ENI to deliver instructional interventions on the topic of general nutrition to urban and rural populations of Ethiopia.

This paper summarizes the project to date, with particular reference to the appropriateness (or inappropriateness) of the transfer of particular methodologies of training from one culture to another.

Home, A., Darveau-Fournier, L., & Bedard, C.

Learning Mutual Helping, Group and Citizen Participation:
Preliminary Results of a Demonstration Project -- P. 125

This paper presents the context, goals, programme and selected results of two interrelated group programmes, designed to promote learning by families in a high-risk community. The groups are offered as part of a three-year demonstration project, in which local families provide short-term child care to other families experiencing stress. While both programmes share common goals of increasing mutual helping and information-sharing, the care-giver group aims at providing training while the care-receiver group emphasizes decreasing isolation. The research component of the project ensures monitoring of both the service and its impact. This paper will begin with an outline of the theoretical and methodological framework of the overall project before focusing on the group learning aspect. Preliminary data will then be discussed, in order to highlight impact of group services on learning about parenting and group skills, and on enhancing mutual helping while decreasing isolation. The paper will end with some conclusions, questions and implications for adult education.

McEachern, B.

Women's Groups as an Example of the Roots in Defining
Adult Education -- P. 146

One of the key problems in adult education historical research is the question of definition. The UNESCO definition provides a broad, prescriptive orientation, useful in a sensitizing fashion. However, the examination of past practices of anglophone women's groups in late nineteenth century Quebec province, in both rural and urban settings, reveals the need for more definitive constructs.

The proposed format of the session is as follows:

1. Introduction
    - review of the literature on definition
    - methodology
    - construct development
2. Discussion of rural milieu and practices
3. Discussion of urban milieu and practices
4. Implications and conclusions

Moreau, B.

The Role of Adult Education in the Struggle for Survival Among Black Nova Scotians Between 1750 and 1945: A Social History. -- P. 164

The historiography of adult education from the perspective of the social history of black Nova Scotians is, for the most part, the history of their struggle for survival. Britain's enthusiasm in the promotion of migration of blacks to Nova Scotia between late 1700s to early 1800s, did not meet with equal excitation from Nova Scotia's society. Consequently, black immigrants were legislated to segregated settlements with little or no formal educational opportunity. As a result, for almost two hundred years they were dependent on the skills, knowledge and trades acquired through non-formal and informal education, while in slavery. Therefore, their configuration of adult education remained virtually unchanged until 1945.

This paper proposes that the role of adult education in the black Nova Scotian experience was two-fold. First, it ensured the survivability of the black race. Second, it inspired a continued hope for civil rights and hence adult educational opportunity.

Painchaud, G.

A critical review of intensive second language programs for adult immigrants. -- P. 196

Most Western countries offer second language programs to recent immigrants to facilitate integration within the host society but mostly in preparation for employment. Considering the time and effort expended (up to 900 hours of instruction), the development of second language proficiency is disappointing as, for the larger proportion of immigrants participating in these programs, the competence attained at the end of the program is barely adequate to meet the minimal language requirements for employment in low-paying jobs. In order to gain a better understanding of the issues involved and to suggest needed areas of research, this paper will review the literature on the evaluation of these kinds of programs and will report on three different evaluations which were made of the French intensive program sponsored by the Quebec Government. Among others, unresolved issues concern the lack of an appropriate theoretical foundation on which to base intervention, constraints upon program planning and implementation, attending to a very large variety of learner characteristics, retraining of adult educators.

Pipke, I.

The assessment centre process: Extending its diagnostic capabilities.
-- P. 218

THE ASSESSMENT CENTRE PROCESS: EXTENDING ITS DIAGNOSTIC CAPABILITIES

In recent years, police departments across Canada have explored several strategies for recruiting, selecting and training law enforcement personnel. Commonly used methods are: 1) audits of application forms, 2) intake interviews, 3) psychometric tests and measures, and 4) assessment centres in which candidates perform a number of job simulation exercises under the scrutiny of a trained evaluation team. There is mounting research evidence that assessment centres provide clues to candidate job performance that are overlooked by the more traditional selection procedures. Moreover, they offer even more interesting possibilities as devices for the training and career development of individual officers and as a needs assessment tool for determining training needs of entire ranks of police personnel.

Over the past 5 years, the Justice Institute of B.C. Police Academy has screened approx. 400 recruits as part of its selection function while an additional 200 have undergone the assessment process enroute to promotion. Most recently, the Police Academy has developed the Career Development Program which uses the assessment centre process to include skills training in self-assessment, planning and articulating one's one's own career path, and in training police officers to implement and carry-out their own career path plans. To date, 34 senior level police constables have attended the Career Development Program and used assessment centre processes as self-assessment tools prior to seeking promotion. A follow-up study has documented how constables implemented their self-assessment results. The most common career development activities they selected were: 1) enrollment in specific training courses, 2) acting as an understudy to a senior officer, and 3) engaging in self-directed learning activities.

Evaluation results of the Career Development Program also indicate a developing trend in police training needs for officers moving from the constable to the non-commissioned officer level. Areas in which officers need skill development include: management skills (e.g., planning and organizing, management control), communication skills (e.g., written and oral communication, reading), and job knowledge.

Thus, the assessment centre process can be successfully used as a selection tool for recruitment and promotion but also to help officers diagnose individual training needs as well as assess training needs for an entire rank of police personnel.

Roy-Poirier, J.

The Andragogical Approach in Graduate Studies: Success or Failure? - P.2

Introduction

In 1970, a book entitled *The Modern Practice of Adult Education: Andragogy versus Pedagogy*, reached educational circles. Because of its somewhat controversial nature and provocative sub-titles such as "Farewell to Pedagogy", Malcolm Knowles' book became the object of considerable discussion, resulting in the andragogy-pedagogy debate voiced mainly in the journal, *Adult Education*. A range of views were expressed, among others, by John Elias, Leon McKenzie, Robert Carlson, Russell S. Knudson and Knowles. The latter has since produced a new version of his book, *The Modern Practice of Adult Education: From Pedagogy to Andragogy*, in which the assumptions are presented on a continuum rather than in confrontation.

The Problem

In adult education graduate courses, the two approaches (andragogical and pedagogical) are used, depending on the academic background of the instructor, the expectations and characteristics of the learners, the nature of the course, etc.

Based on my own experience as an instructor of adult education in graduate courses at the University of Ottawa, I am looking at the pedagogy-andragogy debate from the point of view of its practical application within a graduate study classroom setting.

From this experience, several questions have taken shape. Which approach is more effective? Under what circumstances? With whom? Are there preferences based on linguistic and sexual differences?

Methodology

Since 1982, I have taught 5 adult education classes at the graduate level. A total of 73 students, male, female, anglophone, francophone, foreigners have participated in these classes. Records of the characteristics, evaluations and reactions of these students have been kept. For the most part, a teaching approach, based on andragogical principles was utilized. My presentation will therefore report on various findings and observations related to these teaching experiences.

Selman, G.

Origins of Adult Education in British Columbia Insights for the Present Period -- P. 238

In present efforts to write a comprehensive history of adult education in B.C., the author has been reminded of the crucial role played in the early years by voluntary associations and of the ways in which government sought to support such work. This concept of cooperation between government and such associations has largely been lost since, as programs and institutions in the public sector have grown and as the field of adult education has become more professionalized. In the present times of fiscal restraint, the public institutions are having to cut back their programs, especially those serving the most disadvantaged. Drawing on past experience, the author will outline the advantages of more large-scale, public-voluntary sector cooperation and more support out of public funds for the adult education activities of the private/voluntary sector. Relevant experience from Scandinavie will also be drawn upon.

Thomas, A.M.

Through the Learning Glass: The Universities -- P. 254

The learning perspective first legitimized by the UNESCO Report "Learning to Be" has come into more widespread and more effective use in the past decade. Not only does it provide a valuable analytical tool for examining society as a whole, it also provides a position for a re-examination of educational providing agencies which perhaps offers some hope for some renewed "educational" visions. The paper is devoted to an exposition of the three principal responsibilities universities have for "learning": research, teaching, and community development, and attempts to throw some light on the nature of these responsibilities and on the relationship between the three, a relationship that sets the university apart from the "educational system" in most societies. The past half century has been characterized by two developments: the concentration of more and more learning goals within the educational system, and the inclusion of more and more people, principally adults within that system. In doing so we have lost sight of the proper tasks and the proper limits of the providing agencies and produced an educational crisis of world-wide proportions. The experience dervied from coping with the growing inclusion of adults in this system provides a new "perspective for understanding them", provided we can go beyond the ideas of "more" and "bigger".

Warren, C.E.

British Women With Interrupted Technological Careers: Societal Attitudes and Patterns of Childhood Socialization. -- P. 279

Growing concern has been expressed in many western countries about the under-representation of women as engineers, scientists and technologists. Job and career opportunities of the future point to technological professions and occupations, areas traditionally avoided by girls and women. Females do not enter such areas because they are not prepared to do so; fewer girls now than in the past are preparing themselves in secondary schools by taking the necessary maths and science pre-requisites.

Subtle as well as not so subtle societal forces and cultural attitudes ultimately affect early socialization patterns affecting young girls. Using biographical data obtained from open-ended interviews and written life history directions, the study reported upon here examined the early socialization of 94 British women who prepared themselves for technological or scientific careers. All of the women interrupted their careers for family reasons and are now preparing for re-entry into the workforce. From the women's perspective of seeing their lives as careers, the biographical material allows for a wholistic analysis of career and family goals within the cultural context of British society.

The work of social psychologists suggests that the precursors of the underachieving woman can be seen in the female child; the work of this study documents that precursors of the achieving female in scientific and technological areas can be identified and analyzed through her early childhood experiences. Following the sociological interactionist tradition of George Herbert Mead, the prime purpose of the collection of this biographical data was to obtain the themes of commonality which affected the shape of the individual lives. Included among the themes identified and discussed are: the effect of class and gender cultures in school; the excellence of the women with maths and their enjoyment of maths; the perception of normalcy and deviancy of self; the sense of individualism; and the negative stimulus attitude.

Wolf, J., & Waldron, M.

Measuring and Managing Variables for Continuing Education Programs in a University Setting: An Econometric Model -- P. 314

Access to key faculty, changes in budgetary targets, movements in the marketplace and the place of Continuing Education within the University are among the key issues that continue to plague Continuinc Education Unit managers. Perhaps because of the present state of our own professional development and self-image as adult educators, and perhaps because of strategies adopted by other University/community stakeholders, these issues usually have been seen and treated as isolated fragments.

Wolf and Waldron argue that a number of key philosophical issues are intertwined with these operational problems, and that we do ourselves a disservice if a holistic approach to their management is ignored. They present a model of seven dependent philosophical and operational variables which interact in the management of a Continuing Education Unit and argue that these are interdependent, measureable and manageable: the social/public policy filters of the Unit manager, the University's commitment to Continuing Education, faculty resources and supports, the Unit's organizational culture, technological resources and supports, budgetary resources and supports, and the community's commitment to Continuing Education.

Zinman, R.

Adult Education and Women; Problems and Perspectives in Historical Research -- P. 347

One of the key problems in adult education historical research is the question of definition. The UNESCO definition provides a broad, prescriptive orientation, useful in a sensitizing fashion. However, the examination of past practices of anglophone women's groups in late nineteenth century Quebec province, in both rural and urban settings, reveals the need for more definitive constructs.

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4. Implications and conclusions

SYMPOSIUM

FRONTIERS AND FUTURES IN INTERNATIONAL ADULT EDUCATION

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International Council for Adult Education

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Comments from James A. Draper

Our past is the context for our future. The extent to which we understand our future, and prepare for it, will depend to a great extent on how well we understand our past. In terms of frontiers and futures, nationally and internationally, we have always been at the forefront. We are known for the export of our ideas and programs and their underlying philosophies. Such innovative programs would certainly include the Antigonish Movement, Farm Radio Forum, the National Film Board of Canada, the Banff School of Fine Arts, Frontier College, World Literacy of Canada and the Women's Institutes, to mention only a few of our traditions. (Mention might especially be made to WLC's recent Brief on "Literacy, Development and International Relations" made to the Joint Committee on International Relations.) At one time, all these were at the cutting edge of the future. They grew out of the geographical, social, economic, political and cultural context of the times. Such contexts in turn influence the cutting edge of our future. Furthermore, the context of adult education in Canada has been a worldly one. The values and beliefs we express across national boundaries.

Canadians have consistently participated in international conferences. We have come a long way since Elsinore, Denmark, which was the first Unesco-sponsored conference on adult education. (The Canadian delegation was led by Ned Corbett, then Executive Director of the Canadian Association for Adult Education.) Perhaps we should say that we have come a long way since Cambridge, England when the first World Conference on Adult Education was held in 1929, on the brink of the

Great Depression. It should not be surprising perhaps that the second Unesco international conference on adult education was held in Montreal. The Third conference was held in 1972 in Tokyo, and the Fourth in Paris last year. I am mentioning these events for at least two reasons. One because I will be referring to them when mentioning some of the present-day international agencies. Second, because we have greatly benefited from our international leadership and participation in these events. Such has been our commitment to the future.

I have dwelt on the international conferences organized by Unesco. I have not spoken of the considerable role that the International Council for Adult Education has performed in organizing international forums for primarily non-governmental agencies (NGO's). Specifically these would include the 1976 conference on development, held in Tanzania; the conference on authentic development, France, 1982; and the event on development and peace, held in Argentina in 1985. Nor will I elaborate further on the extent of membership of the Council, nor its research activities (see for instance: Draper, J.A. National and Regional Adult Education Associations, 1982).

I'd like now to mention a few international adult education associations of which many of us present are members. Out of the 1972 conference in Tokyo came the International Council for Adult Education, because of the inspiration and efforts of the most internationally known Canadian, the late J. Roby Kidd.

The International Congress of University Adult Education grew out of the Unesco conference in Montreal, 1960. The present secretary-general is a Canadian, Dr. John Morris, University of New Brunswick. The congress is concerned with all aspects of the education of adults within universities throughout the world. It is involved or interested in programs to prepare or train educators of adults; research pertaining to adults as learners, adult and continuing education; adult education as a component of development; educational programs and services designed for and delivered to adults through university extension and extra mural studies.

A third international agency which I want to mention, briefly, is The International League for Social Commitment in Adult Education, founded in 1984. Its first annual conference was held last year in Sweden and the annual meeting this year will be in Nottingham, United Kingdom. The founders of this agency express grave concern over the social inequality and social injustice which exists in nations throughout the world and a firm belief that adult education can be a powerful force for social change. The organization attempts: to encourage all those involved in adult education to foster participation in dialogue on the critical social issues confronting humankind today, such as class inequality, environmental concerns, peace, racism, sexism and ageism; to encourage all those involved in adult education to work with poor, oppressed, and politically powerless in learning activities which have social, political, economic, cultural, and aesthetic import; and to encourage those responsible for the preparation of adult educators to provide not only for the enhancement of technical skills, but also for the critical examination of ethical and social issues. One can see here the ties to some of our own traditions, some of which I have briefly referred to.

The last international association which I want to refer to here is one that has not even been formally constituted, evidence of adult educators cutting new frontiers and futures. The idea for such an association was articulated at the ICAE conference in Paris, in 1982 when the question was raised whether Commonwealth members present wished to pursue the possibility of forming a Commonwealth association. There was agreement to this, and a feasibility study, headed by Edward Ulzen and funded by The Commonwealth Foundation. Ulzen's final report, 1984, indicated a need to formally constitute the Commonwealth Association for the Education of Adults. Those of us who attended the ICAE conference in Argentina last year further reinforced this desire, at a meeting of the Commonwealth members present, with Dr. Alan Rogers, secretary-general of the "Association". We are hoping that the founding meeting will take place in India next year.

I'd like now to give some examples of projects that relate to international education. The first, now available from the ICAE is the report: Commonwealth Institutions of Higher Education and Their Involvement in Non-Formal Education (J.A. Draper, 1985). A second, now ongoing, is a survey of all of our university academic adult education programs in Canada to assess the extent of international and comparative studies in adult education in these programs. A third is a study, coordinated by Alan Knox in the United States, entitled: "A World Perspective: International Comparative Analysis of Selected Educational Programs for Adults" and includes, cross-culturally and comparatively, such programs as adult literacy, education in the professions and workers education. Finally, I want to mention what may prove to be an important event, but which essentially went unnoticed at the time that it happened. I refer to a special function held in Toronto in the spring at which internationally known speakers spoke to the topic: Countdown to the Third Millenium. The theme topic was taken from a paper written by Don Toppin, founding president of Toronto 2000. I have mentioned these few examples of special events and projects because they relate to our interests in comparative and international education and they are ways for us to think about the future, by more fully understanding the present.

As part of our commitment to international development, there are a number of things that CASAE might do. I will mention three examples only. The first two relates to our relationship with the Canadian Commission for Unesco. Since its beginning, CASAE has always been supportive of the Commission. We have supported Canada remaining within Unesco. We have benefitted from the Canadian Commission's efforts and publications, including Illiteracy in Canada and The Learning Society. Two of our members have especially given leadership within the Commission, i.e., Alan Thomas and Gordon Selman. There is some possibility that the Commission may wish to actively disseminate the final report of the Fourth Unesco World Conference on Adult Education (Paris, 1985). It could be mutually beneficial to the Commission and to CASAE if we used our own network to discuss and reflect on the meaning of the Conference. As well, what frontiers does it challenge us to? What future scenarios does it present?

Although not official or even public, it is possible that Unesco will declare a World Decade for Cultural Development. If this occurs, I think that adult education has an important role to perform here, really an extension of the role that we have been attempting for many years. The danger of such a decade is that of too narrowly defining the concept of "culture". Apart from culture building and the sharing of cultural imagery, the contribution of adult education is to focus on cross-cultural communication and understanding. We have been involved for many years in creating and sustaining such communication.

A small but last point refers to the new Commonwealth Association for the Education of Adults. I think it would be more than symbolic if CASAE were to sponsor a few memberships in the Association, for colleagues in Third World Countries.

To conclude. What are these few comments meant to convey? I think the following points are relevant:

1. The past, present and future of adult education are dynamically linked to one another.

2. It is important for us in Canada to see our future in an international context. This will influence our planning, our mutual sharing and our understanding of each other.

3. I think it is important to take seriously the slogans and declarations that are coming forth from international conferences, such as "The Right To Learn" and "Literacy for All by Year 2000". Our future needs to incorporate into it the visions and 'futures' of others from around the World.

4. International Journals in adult education not only help us to communicate and share with each other, across national boundaries, but including viewpoints and values upon which others base their futures. I would especially mention the journals of Convergence (ICAE), the International Educator (coming from India) and a new international adult education journal which some of us discussed at the World Assembly in Argentina last year, and which may come from Africa.

5. We need to confirm, and reaffirm periodically our commitment to CASAE's international networks and to the goal of human resource development.

Finally, as a national/international organization, we need to continue to re-define our "frontiers" to include not only geographical but also social and psychological frontiers whereby we continue to strive to extend learning opportunities to everyone. An international perspective helps to strengthen our national association.

Comments from Yusuf Kassam

In addressing this subject, what I am going to talk about flows quite neatly from some of the questions we discussed this morning in the session of professors and students of adult education. I am referring here in particular to the discussion we had on the current trend of the marginalization of the status of the departments and discipline of adult education in many universities in Canada. We also touched on the issue of research, dissemination of research findings, what kind of research, and the need to link up with practioners. Out of all this discussion came the question of the need to re-conceptualize the theory and practice of adult education. And lastly, although we did not discuss it, there was an item on this morning's agenda around the question of national and international networking.

In order to convey the spirit that underlies the substance of what I am going to present, let me share with you a little story which comes from the Nicaraguan Literacy Crusade. What happened was that four weeks after the Crusade was officially initiated, word came to the headquarters in Managua that a group of villagers out there in the countryside had become literate. The Crusade officials became very curious about this happening, and they set off to the village. When they arrived, a meeting was called of the literacy learners, the literacy teacher, and the village elder who was their leader.

" How do you account for your success?" asked the Crusade officials. "There are three reasons," the village leader replied. "First, because of the new policies of the Sandinista government, which have offered us our first chance to learn after 60 years of dictatorship". The Crusade officials smiled. "Secondly, because of the skill and patience of our teacher." The teacher smiled. And third, because we are very intelligent people."

Let us now look at some of the frontiers of adult education globally, and in order to do that, let me briefly talk about the overall context. First of all, we are witenessing around the world a continuing marginalization of millions of people in terms of unemployment, social injustices of all kinds, denial of human rights, poverty, poor health, illiteracy, and so on. This situation continues to get worse.

Secondly, all of us are increasingly feeling a sense of powerlessness. The lives of more and more people around the world are shaped by decisions made by others. Even university departments of adult education are experiencing that sense of powerlessness in the light of budget cuts and other pressures. This is due to many reasons and I will mention a few.

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Our sense of not having much control on our lives is due to the way in which our societies and power structures are organized. It is due to the nature and control of the new information technology that is imposed upon us. Under the prevailing international economic order which is unjust and unequal, the poor are getting poorer and the rich are getting richer. And yet no one can deny today that we are living in a very inter-dependent world, and that the economies of the north are very much dependent on the health of the economies of the south and vice-versa. The question of unemployment in the industrialized countries is very closely tied with the deteriorating purchasing power of the third world countries.
Then there is the question of women's issues. The women's movement is growing stronger day by day, but there is little action on the part of governments and the various institutions that serve us. We know that oppression and discrimination of women continues in subtle and not-so-subtle ways.

Next is the question of our own survival - the question of peace, and therefore the need to promote education for peace. The question of peace is not just a lofty ideal, it is a necessity. In 1984, the world expenditure on armaments amounted to about 700 billion dollars. In 1985 this figure rose to one trillion dollars and I am not talking here of Candaian dollars. I had to look up my dictionary to find out how many zeros there were in one trillion, and I found out that one trillion is written like this : 1,000,000,000,000. The notion of peace is not confined to just absence of war or threat of war but also involves the absence of poverty, for poverty is also violence. And therefore there are are clear links between disarmament and development, whether it is development in the third world or development in the industrialized world in terms of social services, education, and so on.

Illiteracy continues to pose as a major problem and challenge. We know that there are now close to a billion illiterates in the world, and therefore there are a billion reasons for action. The problem of illiteracy is now also being 'rediscovered' in the industrialized countries as well.

Basic health services are denied to millions of people. There is a need to promote primary health care, the need for preventive health care instead of concentrating on the curative medical model. For primary health care, which is besed on community involvement, adult education and adult education methods have a critical role to play for its realization.

What are the broad implications of all of these issues and concerns for the adult education movement. What I want to say is that against this background, adult education has a tremendous contribution to make in dealing with these issues and concerns if it energises itself to take on a character of a social movement dedicated to social change.

If we look at our field from the social movement point of view and at an international level, we need to think globally and act locally. We need a sense of mission and a sense of solidarity in improving the human condition and working for social change. It invloves networking with practioners at the grass-roots. It involves linking up with other social movements such as labour, peace, women's movement, and so on. It just occurs to me, referring to this morning's session, that perhaps one reason why the adult education programme and department at St. Francis Xavier University is not doing so badly financially and in terms of its status, compared with some other Canadian universities, is because they have the Antigonish tradition which is a social movement. I was looking at the abstract of a paper for this confernce written by Anne Alexander, and she argues that the social movement tradition in Canada has been overtaken by "bureacratization and professionalization."

What is the conception and purpose of "learning" in a social movement context? I want to argue that if the goal of education in general is learning how to learn, the goal of adult education is to empower the people. Learning for empowerment and the power of collective learning for social change. In this context about learning, UNESCO's Fourth International Conference on Adult Education (Paris, 1985) came out with "The Right to Learn" Declaration. I would like to read out some parts of this Declaration.

"The recognition of the the right to learn is now more than ever a challenge for humanity. The right to learn is the right to read and write. The right to question and analyse. The right to imagine and create. The right to read one's world and to write history. The right to have access to educational resources. The right to develop individual and collective skills......in short, the right to learn is one of the best contributions we can make to solving the crucial problems of humanity today."

In this morning's session, the question of reasearch in adult education was raised. Universities are often faced with the problem of conducting reasearch that is relevant to the real problems of our societies as well as the problem of linking up with practioners and the dissemination of research results. This situation has stimulated the questioning of the conventional research paradigms that adult educators use, and as a result of this questioning, attempts have been made to formulate and use alternative research paradigms. One of these alternative research approaches, namely, "participatory research" is being used quite widely in many parts of the world. Participatory research represents an attempt that combines investigation, education, and action with the full and active participation of the people in one single package. The questions addressed in this kind of a research process come out of people's needs, not dreamed up in academia, and its ultimate goal is the empowerment of the ordinary people in the varied constituencies that are serve by adult educators.

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Let me finish by saying a few words about non-governmental organizations in the field of adult education and development. The importance of the role of NGOs is receiving increasing recognition, and many of these NGOs are in the forefront of promoting adult education as a social movement. There is a widespread trend in the formation of more and more NGOs all over the world. There are more NGOs in Latin America than the whole of Europe combined. The development assistance agencies around the world, in Europe and Canada in particular, are giving more recognition and support to the activities of NGOs engaged in education and development work, and so do many of the UN agencies, particularly UNESCO, UNICEF and WHO.

Comments from Hayden Roberts

A month or so ago I came across an article by Ivan Illich, under the title of *Education and Development*, which spoke to an uneasy feeling I have had over the last few months.

Here are one or two quotes from Illich's article:

"Education and Development are both social construction enterprises. Each creates a new kind of space which it then furnishes."

"E & D act as self-fulfilling prophecies about man. They create the subject which they supply with its wherewithals: *Homo Economicus*."

I have made two recent visits to Zimbabwe and Singapore, where I have had experiences that link into what Illich is saying. Without describing these experiences - my time doesn't allow it - let me make some general observations. These are old hat. We've heard it all before. But I make no apologies for bringing them up in this discussion

1. Education has become another export industry, and it often works more to the benefit of the exporting country than to the clients. There's a corruption of a good thing. An analogy I have is the way that since the 1960s what started out as an innovative and alternative approach to human relations - the whole human relations movement - has become a huge and somewhat grotesque industry, a part of the industrial, consumer culture to which it was supposed to provide an alternative set of values.

2. Which leads directly into a second point. When growth of this sort starts, the art of marketing comes to dominate the art of understanding what it is that one is selling, and whether this is what the target population really needs. There's no need for me to elaborate on the problem of inappropriate developments in Third World countries, promoted by people in metropolitan countries. I realise that one of the problems in this respect is that the pressure for such developments often comes from the developing country itself. Many people in many governments in these countries have become very good at playing off eager agencies against one another.

3. Which leads to a third point, and that is about the ethics of being in this business. What is the right mix of advisor/consultant/provider, that will best serve the interests of the developing country? Do we have a duty,

or a right, to decline to get involved in a project that in our judgement is not appropriate to the situation? And who judges what is appropriate? It's the old question in adult education - do we simply and unquestioningly respond to the 'felt need' of the potential learner, or are we, and our own sense of values, a part of the transaction? An what is the responsibility of such organisations as CIDA, which tend to become a kind of export promotion agency for their home countries.

4. Are we not, in some cases, exporting approaches, technologies, whole educational philosophies and systems, whose efficacy even in our own situations is questionable? Do we even know the real effects of a lot of our educational processes in our own environment? A macro view of education in our own society would seem to indicate the need for some caution on our part.

5. My perception is that it is among the NGOs that there has been accumulated some of the best of our experience. In general I have found the dedication of, for instance, CUSO volunteers, to be the most encouraging feature of this whole business. Furthermore, I find such volunteers acknowledging that it is they, as much as, if not more than, their host countries, who have learned the most in this enterprise. I used to look with some scepticism on sending young people abroad for anything between four months and two years, since it took them that time just to begin to understand their new environment and its culture, but over the years it has at least built up a large number of people in our own society who do have some understanding of the inter-relationships between cultures, and a critical appreciation of other cultures - and our own.

6. And finally, talking of cultures, all of what I have said, very briefly, raises the question of what has been called cultural imperialism. We in Canada, in our relationship with the USA, know something about this. Do we learn well enough from it to be able to avoid being on the other end of the relationship when it comes to other, less developed, countries? It seems to call for some caution on our part.

In other words, we should stop, or avoid, seeing an involvement in international adult education, or any other kind of activity, as some sort of transformation that we are bringing about in the imperfect world of the heathen.

At some point, when I was doing some preparatory thinking about this short presentation, I noted, in some reading that I was doing, the refusal of a Taoist sage to transform the flora and fauna of his world, and his sense of the limiting, even destroying, effect of definition, because -

and here is my own gloss on the Taoist thought - we always define in our own terms, from our own perspective. It took me until the end of writing this piece to see how that note fits into what I'm trying to say. I've always felt that studies and experience of international adult education, and therefore comparative studies, are helpful insofar as we learn from them of our own provincialism, chauvinism, nationalism. Because, it seems to me that, in the volatile and open world in which we live, it is these three that are the menace. These are the frontiers we have to pass - the frontiers that form, and inform, our consciousness, that constrain our understanding of our world. I venture to say that the most valuable way I can be involved in international adult education is in promoting and involving myself as far as possible in discussion and learning about the major international issues of peace, human rights, North-South development issues, personal and global responsibility, and so on - to be aware of the frontiers of our present understanding of these issues.

THE MEANING OF LIBERATION IN ADULT EDUCATION AS REVEALED BY MOSES COADY AND THE ANTIGONISH MOVEMENT

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> Take from the altar of the past
> the fire, not the ashes.[1]
> Jean Jaures

INTRODUCTION

Adult education in Canada evolved as a field within which both social movement and professionalization trends have existed concurrently, generally as competing forces (Selman and Kulich, 1980). Current trends in this field tend towards the bureaucratization and professionalization of adult education. Consequently, its strength as a social movement may become jeopardized. Indeed, there has been a continuing debate about whether adult education should liberate merely individuals or have a societal role. Polarities of viewpoints exist among scholars concerning the need for adult education to maintain or to change society (see Kreitlow, 1981). A review of the various frameworks of adult education purposes and philosophies also reveals such a continuum.

In an attempt to understand the meaning of liberation in adult education prior to the field's bureaucratization and professionalization, the writings of Moses Coady, a leader of the Antigonish Movement, were studied (see Alexander, 1985). In so doing, this study took from the past "the fire" (see epigram cited previously) of a dynamic adult educator.

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[1] This quotation was the epigram for the Canadian Association for Adult Education's 50th Anniversary Celebration, 1985.

The Antigonish Movement was an adult education movement of the 1930s based at St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Nova Scotia. This movement, which had a profound influence upon adult education in Canada and around the world, was clearly a social movement with a reform orientation. It was anticipated that gaining an understanding about this social movement would provide a perspective for critiquing the current trend towards bureaucratization and professionalization in adult education.

This study also enables adult educators to consider the relevance of Coady's ideas for our time and contemplate present and future theory and practice. The importance to contemporary adult educators of such reflection is underscored in "A Draft National Declaration on Adult Education" prepared in 1985 by the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE). This document states that the idea declared fifty years ago by the CAAE, during Coady's era, is even more timely today: "the belief that quite ordinary men and women have, within themselves and their communities, the spiritual and intellectual resources adequate to the solution of their own problems." In addition, this declaration emphasizes that "social justice and human liberation -- indeed survival -- are far from assured." That this situation exists when the field of adult education is becoming professionalized and scholars are still debating its social role makes critical reflection crucial for the concerned contemporary adult educator.

METHOD

The general approach undertaken was that of a case study. Specifically, the writings of one adult educator, Moses Coady, were examined in an attempt to discover the meaning of liberation in adult education from his point of view. The main sources of data used in this study were materials written by Coady, especially his book Masters of Their Own Destiny and the book The Man from Margaree (edited by Laidlaw) which was a collection of Coady's writings and speeches.

To achieve the purpose of the study, a combination of two qualitative research methods was used. These two methods were the thematic content analysis method and the historical-critical method. This combination enabled the meaning of Coady's ideas to be interpreted in context. Thus the study involved first identifying Coady's ideas relevant to liberation in adult education and then interpreting them. While stating this procedure in this manner may imply a linear two-staged process, such was not the case; rather, the process was an interactive one which resulted in a deeper level of understanding from the continuous interplay of ideas and their context.

The writings were thematically analyzed using an adaptation of the grounded theory method of Glaser and Strauss(1967). To guide the process of data collection and analysis a general focus was developed consisting of seven research questions relevant to developing an understanding of the meaning of liberation in adult education. Specifically, they addressed the meaning of adult education, the view of adults, the relationships among adults (including that of teacher and learner), the relationship between adults and society, the meaning of liberation, and the view of professionalization and bureaucratization.

Through the use of the constant comparative method of analysis, consistency in Coady's ideas was revealed. Linkages were traced among the categories which were identified through the general research focus. From these linkages, three main ideas about the meaning of liberation in adult education emerged.

These ideas were subsequently interpreted using the historical-critical method. This method involved becoming familiar with the world of the text. To do so required researching the background of Moses Coady and the historical events of his time. The Antigonish Movement was also examined in terms of its historical, social, economic and religious context, and its development and work. This research enabled the researcher to move into the world of the text and thereby interpret Coady's writings in the context of what they might have meant in his time.

The last stage in the historical-critical method involved interpreting the text in the contemporary world. To interpret the directions that Coady's ideas might suggest in the present society, the similarities and differences between his society and the present one were first identified. Coady's ideas were then explored within the present context, particularly in light of the trend towards the bureaucratization and professionalization of the field and the debate about professionalism. A perspective was developed, from Coady's ideas, for critiquing these trends.

MAJOR FINDINGS

To Coady, the meaning of liberation in adult education was that adult education should unlock life for all the people, involve real thinking, and enable people to live fully. These assertions were based upon his belief in the common person's capabilities as citizen and learner. Accordingly, he suggested that people take a role as active citizens and not abdicate this responsibility to others.

When Coady's ideas were interpreted in the context of his time, they revealed their nature as providing a critique of society and issuing a challenge to the existing social institutions and systems. He advocated serving the people who were most in need, whom the established educational system had neglected. The non-traditional educational methods which Coady supported helped to free common people from the self-defeating thinking which had served the interests of the privileged. Coady wished for people to live fully, starting by obtaining economic justice. To this end he challenged the existing economic system by encouraging the development of the "double-barrelled" program of adult education and economic cooperation.

When Coady's ideas were examined for the directions they suggest for the contemporary situation, his ideas were found to challenge contemporary adult educators to ensure that those most in need of adult education would receive it. Coady's ideas would also encourage adult educators to have a commitment to social change and to use educational methods which enable learners to reflect and act in society, with a particular emphasis upon first achieving economic justice. Thus, the meaning of liberation which underlies Coady's ideas involves the learners in both personal and social change. His idea should give inspiration to adult educators to consider liberation at the levels of both individual and society.

Following from these ideas, a critique of the trends towards bureaucratization and professionalization in the field of adult education addresses the consequences of these trends for the learners and for achieving Coady's suggested goals of adult education. Sprecifically, Coady's ideas suggest that these trends should be assessed regarding who is being served by adult education, how adult education is being conducted, and to what end. This critique highlights the present situation wherein those most in need of adult education tend often not to be the recipients.

Coady's ideas support the development of a basis of scholarship in the field but do so in the context of empowering learners in their communities in the pursuit of personal and social change. The need being expressed currently for a new model of professionalism, consistent with the movement-like type aspects of adult education, would find support from Coady's ideas.

SUMMARY

In conclusion, Coady's meaning of liberation in adult education provides an important and useful basis for understanding the social movement dimension of adult education and for reflecting upon the current trend towards bureaucratization and professionalization in the field. The directions his ideas suggest for the present situation affirm the importance of the social movement dimension and identify the consequences of losing it. The combination of research methods used in the study proved to be a complementary one, enabling a contextual and deeper meaning of Coady's ideas than would otherwise have been possible. In addition, by studying the Antigonish Movement a number of observations were made about the practice and evolution of the movement. These observations also address contemporary issues in adult education.

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Meaning Transformation through Experience and Mentoring

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Meaning Transformation through Experience and Mentoring

I would like to share a card that I received recently from a young man whose inner experience of change had provided the data for a case study of self-transformation in early adult males.

A New Strength

There are times in every life
when we feel hurt and alone ...
But I believe that these times,
when we feel lost
and all around us seems
to be falling apart,
are really bridges to growth.
We struggle and try to recapture
the security of what was,
but almost in spite of ourselves ...
we emerge on the other side
with a new understanding,
a new awareness,
a new strength.
It is almost as though
we must go through the pain
and struggle
in order to grow
and reach new heights. (Mitchell, 1981)

In a few lines, this commercially produced card outlines the main characteristics of the change processes involved in the transformations most of us experience many times in our lives as we mature, such as

1) The sense that we are lost and alone;
2) The feeling that everything that has been reliable and stable is now falling apart;
3) The strong desire to hang onto the stability and security that our old understanding provided;
4) The pain we experience in the transition period as we break from the old and grasp for the new, which we do not and cannot understand at this point;
5) The exhileration we feel as we achieve a new, more complex and satisfactory understanding of ourselves and of ourselves-in-the-world.

In the Part 1 of this paper, I will explore the dynamics of this change process by examining Robert Kegan's (1979, 1982) theory of the process of change, looking also at the resistance to change. In the Part 11, I will describe the process of, and the principles involved in, transformation of the self through three cycles of learning. I will draw attention to the four interactive variables which facilitate access to this change process, which are identified as a cognitive learning process, and to the role that guided reflection (Baker and Oliver, 1984) plays in enabling the individual to negotiate transitions through deeper levels of learning to promote the development of a new sense of self. These four variables appear to be (1) the development of a conscious awareness of the inadequacy of our currently held meaning-making system, (2) the capacity for development, (3) the opportunity to engage in novel and challenging experiences in order to try alternative ways of responding, and (4) the creation of a mentoring relationship to guide reflections on new and past experiences in order to develop critical awareness and to clarify the personal meaning assigned to them. In Part 111 I will suggest implications for programs involving youth and adults.

Part 1

The Dynamics of Change

(a) The Theory of Self Transformation

Robert Kegan (1979, 1982) provides a way of understanding the dynamic interactions between an individual and his/her environment. According to Kegan, central to the nature of all living things is the ongoing interaction of the living organism and the environment which results in a process of adaptation. This adaptation is shaped by the tension created by the need to assimilate the new experiences into the current framework for understanding the world which, at times, does not accommodate the new experience. Resolution of this tension leads to the development of a new framework which incorporates both the understandings of the old framework and the new experience. Piaget termed this process "equilibration": Kegan (1979) calls this the "deep-structure" of Piagetian theories that provides a conception of the life force itself.

> Above all, the equilibrium to which it attends is not so much within the organism as between the organism and the environment, an interaction sculpted by both and constitutive of reality itself. (1979, p.8)

This interaction or the motion to find equilibrium gives rise to periods of balance or an "evolutionary truce" in which the equilibrium provides a temporary stability as the new understanding struck between the organism and the world gives meaning to the contemporary experience. When new experiences that don't fit the perspective provided by the understanding characteristic of the existing balance are encountered, a period of instability is created in which the new experiences are worked through to create a tentatively and qualitatively new balance between the self and the environment.

> The guiding principle of such a truce - the point that is always at issue, and renegotiated in the transition to each new balance - is what, from the point of view of the organism, is composed as "object" and what is "subject," to what extent, in other words, does the organism differentiate itself from *(and so relate itself to)* the world? (1979, p.8)

Kegan sees this evolutionary motion as "the prior or grounding phenomenon in personality" and it is "this process or activity, this adaptive conversation, (that) is the very source of, and unifying context for, thought and feeling." (1979, p.9) This adaptive conversation is the constant dialogue between the two great yearnings, inclusion and autonomy, which underlie all human interactions with the environment.

> Of the multitude of hopes and yearnings we experience, these two seem to subsume the others. One of these might be called the yearning to be included, to be a part of, close to, joined with, to be held, admitted, accompanied. The other might be called the yearning to be independent or autonomous, to experience one's distinctiveness, the self-chosenness of one's direction, one's individual integrity. (1982, p. 106)

Kegan believes that between these two human yearnings is a lifelong tension. "Our experience of this fundamental ambivalence may be our experience of the unitary, restless, creative motion of life itself." (1982, p.107)

Kegan suggests that if one wants to understand another person in some fundamental way, one must know where the person is in his/her evolution, the active process of increasingly organizing the relationship of the self to the environment. "The relationship gets better organized by increasing differentiations of the self from the environment and thus by increasing integrations *of* the environment" (p.

113). The perspective which the person uses to determine what is "self" and what is "other" determines the way he/she interprets an experience and gives meaning to it.

> "Since what is most important for us to know in understanding another is not the other's experience but what the experience means to him, our first goal is to grasp the essence of how the other composes his private reality. (1982,p.113)

Kegan describes his developmental stages as "evolutionary truces" that are "fragile, precarious states", balances in which chaos and a state of siege hang around the corner. (p. 114) The central issue to be resolved is the conflict between holding on to what has been, the me I was, and the letting go to form a new perspective, a differentiation by which the culture in which I am embedded becomes less a part of what I am and more that to which I relate. In late adolescence, this struggle becomes a central theme of identity involving developing new meaning for concepts such as family, moving from a stance that views the self and the family as synonymous to a sense of self with a family to which "I" relate.

Since the balance periods are temporary truces in an ongoing process, they include both a sense of stability or a sense of how the person currently defines him/herself in relationship to the world and a sense of brinksmanship or vulnerability, a dynamic balance of the impulses to defend and to surrender. The truce of the balance stage provides the psychosocial environment, the "psycho" or "I" and the"social" or "other", in which the person is, at this moment at this stage of evolution, embedded.

In order for a transition to be negotiated from one position of balance to another, the culture of embeddedness needs to facilitate three processes which Kegan terms "confirmation" or holding on, "contradiction" or letting go, and "continuity" or staying put for reintegration.

Two functions of an optimum culture of embeddedness are that it be good at both holding on and letting go. A healthy "holding environment" (Winnicott, 1965) is the context in which, and out of which, a person grows, laying the stage for separation by meeting, acknowledging and supporting the shift from embeddedness to differentiation (p. 127). An unhealthy holding environment is one that "holds onto" the individual, maintaining the present state of the individual's development and impeding the process of separation or the underlying motion of the developing person.

A third function for the culture of embeddedness is that it remain in place during the period of transformation and re-equilibration so that what was part of me and gradually becomes not-me can be successfully reintegrated as object or other of my new balance.

> Growth itself is not alone a matter of separation and repudiation, of killing off the past. This is more a matter of transition. Growth involves as well the reconciliation, the recovery, the recognition of that which before was confused with self. (1982, p.129)

A person "loses balance" when the self senses that its organization of reality is not working, when the new experiences do not fit the present way of organizing meaning making. When assimilation of the new experiences cannot be accommodated by minor adjustments in the system and when similar experiences keep raising the issue of assimilation and will not go away or cannot be ignored, the self at first marshalls its defenses to protect itself by denying the new experiences, by blaming the "other" or by retreating into social isolation.

However, defence of the existing culture of embeddedness does always bring respite from the barrage of experiences. Life can become more disequilibrated, forcing a reconstruction of the relationship between the self and the environment. Kegan also noted that, for some people, periods of depression and anxiety are also characteristic of the transition from one state of embeddedness to another.

b. The Conditions and Processes of Developmental Change

1.State of balance/equilibrium

When an individual establishes a meaning-making framework that interprets personal experience satisfactorily and that allows for the assimilation of new experiences with little or no adjustment to the meaning-making system, an evolutionary truce (Kegan, 1976) or a state of equilibrium (Piaget, 1970) is achieved. In this state of relative stability, the individual is able to interact with the environment in a way that is comfortable and predictable. Planning is possible and new experiences can be undertaken with a degree of security because outcomes can be anticipated to be similar to previously experienced outcomes and assimilated without a threat to the existing value structure. When the individual can successfully interpret and incorporate from his existing culture of embeddedness the new experiences he encounters, no change is necessary.

2. Threat to balance/ the attempt to maintain equilibrium

Since the self strives to maintain a state of equilibrium between itself and the environment (Piaget, 1970), the involvement in experiences that don't fit with accepted values and behaviours poses a threat to the stability of the meaning-making system. This condition calls into play defense mechanisms to protect the balance. Isolated or irregular experiences can be dismissed as exceptions, explained away, avoided in the future, or dealt with by behaviours that have worked well in the past. By this defensive re-arranging of resources, the self strives to preserve the integrity of its world view. For instance, if interaction with others creates situations that challenge the value system, the self undertakes defensive action to avoid groups, to control discussion or activities, or to maintain a more comfortable arm's length pattern of interpersonal relations. This reaction to a specific experience that does not fit leaves the entire system intact and preserves the equilibrium of the culture of embeddedness.

3. State of imbalance/ the slide to disequilibrium

Often the self is faced with dilemmas which are not responsive to evasive action, created by developmental needs of the self as it grows physiologically, or by societal expectations and pressures, or by events that originate in the environment beyond the individual's control such as death of a significant other or parental divorce. Responding to these dilemmas in the old familiar way does not resolve the dilemma (Mezirow, 1978) and the self is goaded into adopting some new strategy for defending the existing balance.

Initial resolution of the dilemma is attempted through a redefinition of the situation as a long term solution (Mezirow, 1978). This attempt seeks to solve the problem by focussing on the environment. It may involve changing the environment for one that appears less threatening to the system such as moving out of the family setting or by redefining the existing environment or the relationship of the individual to the environment.

> But whatever the balance that is being defended, the sense is that I work okay, if only the others would just shape up - and the shape I would like them to shape up to is the one I have known and loved so long but no longer can make

work - my own. (Kegan, 1979)

Redefinition of the situation often serves to restore the balance but it frequently places the individual in an environment that is less familiar and, therefore, is less easy to anticipate. If other persistent contradictions emerge that challenge the meaning-making system, the self moves to another redefinition. For example, for the young men of this study, entering Katimavik, a national program for Canadian youth that involved group-living and volunteer community work, appeared as an opportunity to solve dilemmas arising from the environment of dependence within the family. However, the physical move away from from the source of dependence did not create a dilemma-free experience. Living and working with ten other peers for nine months introduced contrary views and unanticipated relationship challenges that demanded interdependence instead of independence. The old and familiar strategies for dealing with conflict with authority and the need for independence within the family simply did not work well within the group setting.

One way of resolving the new dilemma was to redefine the situation by altering the environmental context that created the discomfort. About 25% of those who entered the program resolved these challenges by leaving. Those that remained developed coping strategies within the group. This study demonstrated that the initial strategies called into play were defensive and attempted to remove the dilemma by redefining the situation. In the groups observed in this study, three ways attempted by some were remaining separated from the group, scapegoating within the group, or becoming dependent on the group leader.

Some of these responses provided temporary solutions to current dilemmas, but, in the long run, created greater disharmony by introducing newer and more complex dilemmas that had to be confronted. Things seemed to go from bad to worse as new dilemmas emerged, complicating the situation by creating a need for action along other developmental lines (Freud, 1965) in addition to the developmental line involved in the original dilemma.

c. The Transition from a Focus on Environment to a Focus on Self

This transition involves a move from a pattern of problem-solving in the context of the immediate dilemma, by re-organizing and redefining the environment, to a new problem-finding strategy, which examines the problem in terms of the self interacting with the environment rather than the environment acting on a passive and static self. This involves moving the self from the position of subject to the position of object; the self replaces the environment as the focus of attention. This transition is an extremely difficult one to negotiate because it introduces the element of self-doubt, since the old way of interpreting, or giving meaning to experience is not satisfactory. Underlying the move to this realization are a number of interdependent critical variables which were identified in this study as awareness, capacity for developmental change, mentoring and opportunity.

1. Awareness

In order to move from an immediate and reactive problem-solving strategy, one has to become aware that not only does the particular solution not restore a secure balance but also that the traditional pattern of problem-solving is not producing satisfactory and lasting solutions. Regardless of how they may be disguised, similar dilemmas keep re-occurring and will not go away.

Social intolerance of dependence in later adolescence provides the consistent pressure to move to a position of independence. This move to independence requires both the redefinition of the relationship of the individual to the environment and a redefinition of the self. If only a redefinition of the environment is undertaken as a method of effecting independence while the self remains emotionally embedded in the culture of existing relationships, then a persistent contradiction exists between the inner self and the outer reality.

Becoming aware of this contradiction that will not go away is an internal process which, during late adolescence, is forced to the surface by social pressure to reach a stage of independence or "to grow up". In this study, interaction with a mentor facilitated, for some of the participants, this process of heightening the awareness of the contradictions and provided a way of moving towards a resolution which began the process of creating a new balance or a new culture of embeddedness. This awareness may be self-generated if the individual begins to experience doubt about the wisdom and effectiveness of the choices that he/she is making. In other situations, the issue may be raised as part of the mentoring process in which critical self-assessment is encouraged and developed.

Keane (1985), in a study of the role of self-doubt in the transition process in mature males, describes the transition as the disorientation phase that heralds the process of doubting the self and its ability to problem-solve by re-organizing the environment. This process involves becoming aware of the inconsistencies within the self, becoming dissatisfied with the self, and losing confidence in the self, giving rise to either a determination to try to resolve the inner dilemma or to return to the familiar pattern, to increase attempts to avoid or deny the conflict by focussing on the environment.

> Disorientation is a state of inner disequilibrium in which the harmony of the self is disturbed yet the problem is neither understood nor satisfactorily named. It occurs when an inner or outer experience brings inconsistencies within self to some degree of conscious awareness. Disorientation signals the beginning of the doubting process when personal meaning perspectives, mechanisms for understanding and dealing with reality, are no longer adequate in the face of this heightened awareness of inconsistencies within self...
>
> The dynamics of the disorientation phase can be considered under four headings. Firstly, an inconsistency within the self comes to some degree of conscious awareness. The data shows this to be a process of bringing inner things out into the open, of getting in touch with self, of facing up to anomalies or unresolved issues within self. A variety of inner or outer experiences can serve as triggers to disorientation.
>
> The second element is an unfavourable evaluation of self which accompanies awareness of contradictions in self. There is an evaluation of self as failing 'to be' in some way. This challenges self understanding, raises concern about the exposure of the inconsistency to self and others, and results in uncertainty, confusion, emotional tension and feelings of anxiety, shame and guilt.
>
> The third element is a collapse of confidence in the self. This is commonly experienced as a crisis, characterized by confusion, decreased self esteem and trust in self, and preoccupation with self. It leads to concern about normality, and even sanity. It involves fear of losing face, loss of agency in one's life, feelings of loneliness and emotional distress, and reluctance and inability to communicate with

> others about the experience.
>
> The fourth element is the response to the previous three elements. There is either a determination to try to come to terms with the disorientation, to resolve the inner turmoil, re-establish harmony within self and a stable accommodation with reality; or there can be avoidance and attempts to divert attention from the inner tension. (pp. 185-86)

Keane goes on to point out that this disorientation and self-doubt is the critical factor in precipitating the process of examining the basic assumptions about the self.

> Disorientation precipitates a search to find meaning in the confusion or disturbed harmony of self and relief from the inner tension. This search is typically described as a journey into self and can last for years. In its beginning stages the search is particularly difficult because the self lacks confidence and is awash with cognitive confusion and emotional turmoil. The tension of strong feelings motivates the search. Time and reflection on experience can provide a clearer sense of the journey's purpose or destination. (p.186)

2. Capacity for developmental change

This process of becoming aware of the inadequacy of the existing system of meaning-making implies a cognitive capacity in addition to the Piagetian level of formal operations which involves the ability to hypothesize and to try out different possible solutions. This additional process in which assumptions are critically re-examined has been called the problem-finding stage (Arlin, 1975), double-loop learning (Argyris and Schon, 1974) or meta-learning (Maudsley, 1979) and in this study was referred to as Level 2 learning.

This study demonstrated that a capacity is required to enable a re-examination of the nature of the dilemma and a re-evaluation of the effectiveness of the problem-solving strategies. Maltzman (1960) suggests that problem-finding is a form of divergent thinking which can be improved by practice and reinforcement. Fakouri (1976) speculates that the "difference between cognitive operations of problem-solving subjects and problem-finding subjects may be attributed ... to selective manifestations of the formal operations stage." (p.472)

This study supported the Maltzman and Fakouri speculations and suggested that the problem-finding ability may be one that could be developed through guided reflection and a modelling of the process by a mentor. According to Maltzman (1960) problem finding can be interpreted as improvement in content rather than structure in cognitive development.

3. Mentoring

The process of the mentoring requires that the mentor guide the reflections of the individual, in a sensitive and non-judgemental fashion, back to experience to initiate a pattern of perception which can provide a way for the individual to interpret his own experience. This guiding of reflection back to experiences models movement through the three levels of learning.

In the case study, it became evident that awareness that contemporary ways of problem solving often created unanticipated problems was insufficient to produce a critical re-examination of the problem-solving strategies. It was also evident that within the relationship established between Steve, the subject of the case study, and the researcher, Steve's experiences and the ways in which he gave meaning to those experiences could be probed through guided reflection. This probing and guided focussing raised Steve's awareness of the limitations of his existing problem-solving strategies in specific developmental areas and began the process of questioning the validity of the old assumptions. In this first major transition, as one moves from a definition of self within family, in which problems were solved through intervention and manipulation of the outside environment, to a more autonomous definition of self in which the responsibility is shifted from significant others to self, the role of the empathetic and knowledgeable mentor becomes a second critical variable. The study suggests that as dilemmas are introduced in more developmental lines the role of the mentor becomes more important. The mentor can act as a support as the individual's self-confidence diminishes and can help bring order to the confusion by helping the individual to clarify the dilemmas in terms of several developmental lines.

Rogers (1980) describes the role of the mentor at this stage.

> ... there is going on in the human organism a flow of experiencing to which the individual can

> turn again and again as a referent in order to discover the meaning of those experiences. An empathetic therapist (mentor) points sensitively to the "felt meaning" which the client is experiencing in this particular moment, in order to help him or her to focus on that meaning and carry it further to its full and uninhibited experiencing. (p. 141)

He also defined the task of the mentor.

> It means entering the private perceptual world of the other and becoming thoroughly at home in it. It involves being sensitive, moment by moment, to the changing felt meanings which flow in this other person, to the fear or the rage or tenderness or confusion or whatever he or she is experiencing. It mean's temporarily living in the other's life, moving about in it without making judgements; It means sensing meanings of which he or she is scarcely aware, but not trying to uncover totally unconscious feelings, since this would be too threatening. It includes communicating your sensings of the person's world as you look with fresh or unfrightened eyes at elements of which he or she is fearful It means checking with the person as to the accuracy of your sensings, and being guided by the responses you receive. You are a confident companion for the person in his or her inner world. (Rogers, 1980. p.142)

Once this process has been experienced, and equilibrium restored in the developmental line under examination, the individual has a model to process other experiences through the same pattern using self-reflection, assuming the presence of the other critical variables of awareness and opportunity. In the researcher's experience, and from the experience of the participants in this study, a number of modelling "run-throughs" may be necessary for the experience to be "fixed". (Heath, 1978)

Mentoring in this mode is accomplished by guiding the reflection back to an experience to promote an understanding of the physical and emotional content of the experience (Level 1 learning), to encourage the conscious realization of the personal meaning of the experience (Level 2 learning), and to encourage a re-examination and re-evaluation of the generalizations (Level 3 learning).

4. Opportunity

The fourth critical variable involved in the transformation process is opportunity - the opportunity to become involved in new and challenging experiences that introduce contradictions into one's meaning-making system, and the opportunity of establishing a relationship with a trustworthy and capable mentor when one is cognitively capable of entertaining the idea of changing oneself instead of manipulating or re-organizing the environment..

Although one is constantly faced with new experiences in any situation, for the transitional adolescent who remains closely tied to the culture of embeddedness in family and home community in physical as well as emotional way, contrary experiences are often filtered out or removed by parents, teachers and friends. This study supported Mezirow's belief that the transformation of one's perspective involves confronting a dilemma that is persistent and which cannot be resolved or removed by traditional problem-solving means. Steve made an observation about this.

> I guess if you never strive or seek there can be a nice, happy, ignorant, warm way of living your life where there is no pressure or no periods of stress, but there is no positive stress or growth or contribution. (July, 1985)

It appears that the opportunity to enter into new and challenging experiences can be voluntary when one feels "ready" and consciously makes a choice. However, opportunity may be thrust onto a person by changes in the environment that are beyond the control of the individual. In the former situation, the individual remains aware of the element of choice even when the disequilibrium removes all of the familiar guideposts for maintaining direction, while in the latter situation, the lack of personal control may convert the disequilibrium into chaos, creating a state of depression in which there appears to be no way out. (Kegan, 1979)

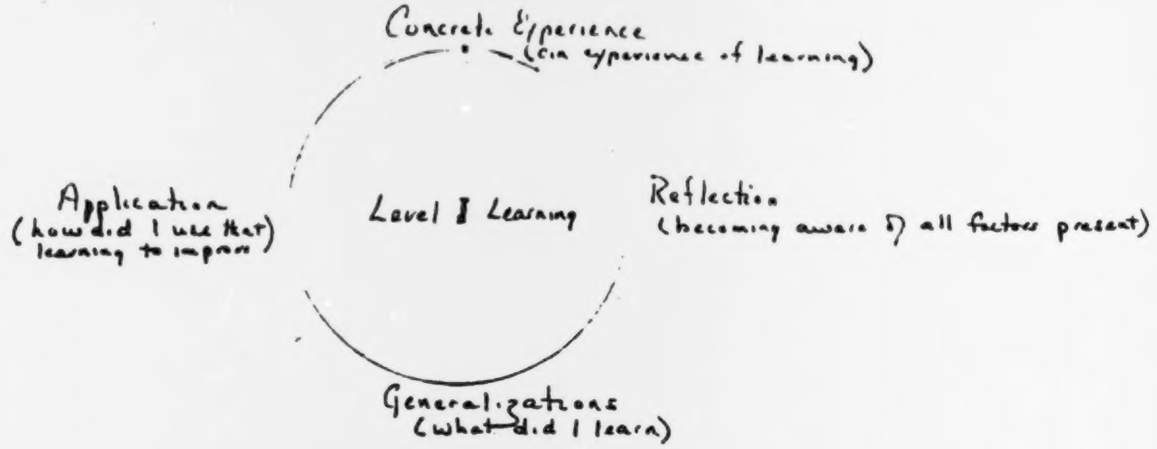
Part II

Self Transformation through Three Levels of Learning

With the support and challenge of an effective mentor, the transitional adolescent can be guided to deeper levels of reflection to make new and more realistic generalizations about self and to re-examine and re-evaluate the old assumptions. The adolescent experiencing transition can be assisted in moving to a new understanding of self-in-the-world by learning effective ways of modifying or rejecting old assumptions that stand in the way of integrating new, and seemingly contrary, new experiences.

1. Level 1 Learning

This level involves the processes described in the Kolb cycle of experiential learning. Movement through the phases of the cycle is dependent upon one's ability and willingness to reflect on an experience, or to be guided in reflection on an experience, for the purpose of identifying the learning that has gone on. Movement through this cycle answers the questions, "What have I learned from this experience?" and "How can I utilize what I have learned in other similar experiences?"


Concrete Experience
(an experience of learning)
Application
(how did I use that learning to improve)
Level I Learning
Reflection
(becoming aware of all factors present)
Generalizations
(what did I learn)

Principles involved in Level 1 Learning

a) Activities that involve personal engagement, a challenge and feedback promote a need to reflect on the experience.

b) An experience must have some personal meaning which prompts the individual to consider doing it again and doing it differently. The factors giving personal meaning may be interest, need, or feedback from others.

c) Personal meaning promotes awareness and reflection which leads to assessment of what has been done or learned. This in turn can lead to generalizations about how the learning can be used and improved.

d) The ability to reflect is a characteristic behaviour in some people; however, it can also be a learned skill that can be enhanced by outside intervention and facilitation.

e) Guided reflection can lead to awareness.

f) Awareness is heightened when the doer gives concrete form to ideas and feelings about the activity in a way that encourages conceptualizing. This is best accomplished in a holistic manner through verbalizing, writing (poetry or impressions), or through an art form.

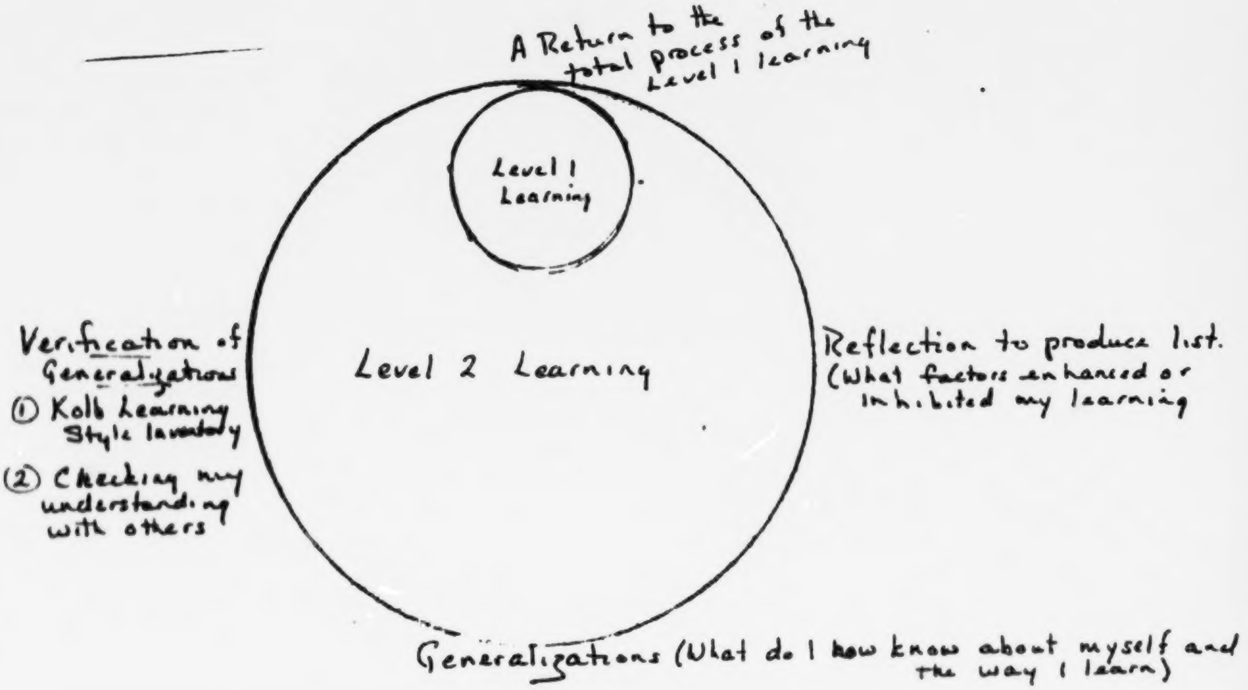
g) Reflection searches for relationships. Reflection is most effective when it is guided back to the actions and the feelings and explores the relationship between the actions and the feelings. Unloading feelings or descriptions of actions is not reflection.

h) Experiences that have personal meaning affect one's self image. Positive feedback from others or from self-satisfaction creates confidence and with confidence comes the ability to extend the activity or to branch out into related activities.

i) Repeated journeys around the Level 1 learning cycle (doing, reflecting, generalizing, and applying learning) develop a body of skills and a sense of competence. The skills are both specific (unique to the activity) and generic (capable of being applied in other activities). These include relational, managerial, presentational, and performance skills.

2.Level 2 Learning

This level is similar to the concept of meta learning (Maudsley, 1979) and involves the process of learning about how one learns and investigates the personal understanding about the self that one creates as a result of the experience. The process demands a deeper level of self- or guided reflection on the experience to identify how its meaning has been internalized. Movement through this cycle answers the questions, "What Have I learned about me as a result of the learning experience?" and "How do I use this new understanding to modify other learning experiences?"


A Return to the total process of the Level 1 learning
Level 1 Learning
Level 2 Learning
Verification of Generalizations
① Kolb Learning Style Inventory
(2) Checking my understanding with others
Reflection to produce list. (What factors enhanced or inhibited my learning
Generalizations (What do I now know about myself and the way I learn)

Principles involved in Level 2 Learning

a) Reflecting on how learning took place is a learned skill that is best faciltated by guiding the learner back through the experiential learning cycle.

b) There are effective means of clarifying the learning process to identify what things help and what things hinder personal learning.

c) Validations of generalizations about the learning come from outide the learner and can be facilitated effectively through objective activities and non-judgemental mentoring.

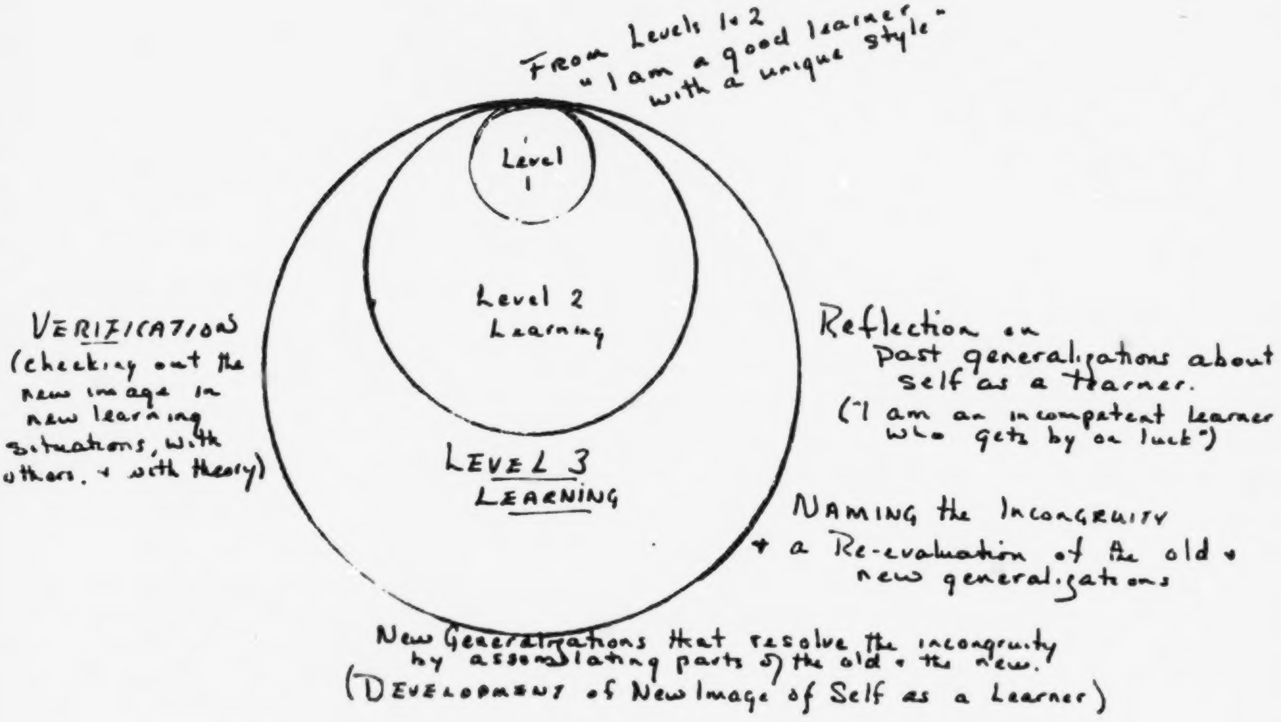
d) Identifying personal learning style and learning requirements justifies the individual's learning process and creates confidence.

e) Confidence in, and understanding about, one's learning requirements enablesa learner to make effective decisions about the learning environment and enables the learner to take an active and creative role in the learning process creating a greater sense of personal agency and control.

f) Understanding one's generalizations about oneself as a learner uncovers the personal meaning assigned to the experience.

3. Level 3 Learning

This level is similar to descriptions of self-reflective learning (Mezirow, 1985) and the self-reflexive and transformative processes described by Griffin (1981). This process moves to a more penetrating level of self- or guided reflection as one re-examines one's earlier assumptions in the light of new understandings about self. Movement through this cycle answers the questions, "What have I always believed to be true about me?", "What earlier experiences led to these generalizations?", and "Are these beliefs consistent with what I now understand about me?". This is the cycle of self-transformation since one is faced with the choice of confirming the traditional stance and value system or of moving to a new stance that involves a new interpretation of self that will provide a more satisfactory and integrative meaning for both past and present experiences.


From Levels 1 + 2
"I am a good learner with a unique style"
Level 1
Level 2 Learning
LEVEL 3 LEARNING
VERIFICATION
(checking out the new image in new learning situations, with others, + with theory)
Reflection on past generalizations about self as a learner.
("I am an incompetent learner who gets by on luck")
NAMING the INCONGRUITY + a Re-evaluation of the old + new generalizations
New Generalizations that resolve the incongruity by assimilating parts of the old + the new.
(DEVELOPMENT of New Image of Self as a Learner)

Principles involved in Level 3 Learning

a) Movement from Level 2 to Level 3 is provoked by feelings of discomfort resulting from the recognition of the incongruity between the new understanding of self and the traditional stance.

b) Becoming conscious of the incongruity probably needs to be facilitated from the outside in the first instance because the traditional stance is the culture of embeddedness (Kegan, 1979) which includes the lens through which the learner views the world and the framework of beliefs that underlie the stance.

c) Incongruities arise when a specific experience cannot be accommodated or assimilated into the existing framework for giving meaning to experience.

d) The process of reflection and integration takes place over time inside the learner and requires returning to the experience, or to similar experiences, many times.

e) The process of integration is the process through which the old generalizations about the self are re-examined and re-evaluated in the light of the new understanding.

f) A new perspective on the self that integrates aspects of the new experience and aspects of the existing framework relates only to that part of the framework involved in the specific experience or series of experiences such as relations to family, career, to intimacy, or to the body image.

g) A number of meaning transformations are required for a move to a new culture of embeddedness, or a new evolutionary truce . (Kegan, 1979)

h) Maturation involves a movement from a former stance and value system and requires continued testing of assumptions and beliefs against reality.

4. Guided Reflection as the facilitating process in moving through Levels of Learning

This study demonstrated the value of guided reflection as a means of engaging a person in movement through learning cycles. It is especially valuable,and perhaps even necessary, for transitional adolescents in promoting movement through Levels 2 and 3 when deeper levels of reflection result in challenges to the value system of the culture of embeddedness which call into play defensive mechanisms of denial, resistance and avoidance which abort the reflective process.

The mentor relationship, with its characteristic qualities of trust, support and non-judgement, appears to facilitate the change process especially in the cycle of transformation, the Level 3 learning. Movement through this cycle, and to a lesser extent, the other two cycles appears dependent upon one's perception of need and ability to enter into a mentoring relationship aimed at self-introspection.

5.Meaning Transformation (Mezirow, 1985)

The process of meaning transformation through increasingly deeper levels of reflection on an experience focusses on a single experience or a cluster of related experiences. The resulting change in perspective is limited to developing a new understanding in that one aspect of the personal value system. Meaning transformation results from a series of perspective transformations in a number, probably a majority, of the ten developmental lines described by Anna Freud (1965). A movement from a single meaning perspective to the development of a new belief system that spans many developmental lines takes place over time. It is dependent upon the individual's ability and willingness to perceive connections, to challenge beliefs, and to develop a pattern of frequent reflection on the personal meaning of many experiences. An understanding of the role of mentoring and guided reflection in the meaning transformation process has important implications for programs for youth and adults which have personal change and growth as a goal.

Part 111

Implications for programs involving youth and adults

Many people who choose to enter programs of higher learning or programs of interest and activity such as Katimavik, Canada World Youth, Outward Bound, professional development workshops, etc. hope for both an increase in personal competence in an academic, professional or occupational sense and personal change. Often the individual feels that he is searching for an added and unknown dimension that will provide the missing link that will make all the pieces of his life fit together.

Keane (1985) describes this state as "a state of inner disequilibrium in which the harmony of self is disturbed yet the problem is neither understood nor satisfactorily named".

By choosing to enter such programs, the individual is indicating a conscious or sub-conscious desire for change and it is to this desire, as well as to professional content, that programs for youths and adults should be addressed.

The data of this study indicate that there are at least three critical variables in the transformation of the self leading to adult autonomy and personal integration which are awarsness, mentoring and opportunity. This study also demonstrates that the process of transformation is a learning process. These factors have important implications for programs that have a mandate to foster personal growth at the high school, college, university and continuing education levels.

1. Awareness, Capacity, Mentoring and Opportunity as Elements of Program Design.

Entry into the cycle of self-discovery leading to a possible transformation requires an awareness that the current value structure or meaning-making system is not providing for satisfactory integration of some persistent new experiences. Before one can resolve a dilemma, one has to become aware that a dilemma exists. To do this, one must have the capacity and the desire touncover and raise one's existing value structure to conscious understanding and articulation.

This is best accomplished when the program provides the opportunity for experiences that challenge one's values in many areas that involve the participant physically, emotionally, and intellectually. Time must be allowed for the processing of the experience both by the individual alone and by the individual in a group setting under the guidance of a skilled facilitator/mentor.

One cannot over-estimate the importance of a skilled facilitator/mentor who can guide the reflection back to the experience to assist the individual to objectify the actions and feelings involved in the experience (Level 1) and to draw general principles from them about the process and about the self (Level 2). The probing of the experience by the facilitator/mentor can heighten awareness by enabling the individual to articulate the personal meaning given to the experience. The sharing of this meaning within a group can expand the awareness by highlighting the unique way in which the individual interprets the experience and exposing him to the meanings others give to a common or shared experience.

Further guided reflection promotes the possibility of the individual establishing relationships between current actions and perceptions and personal belief systems based on generalizations developed from earlier experiences. Once this deeper level awareness has been raised to consciousness, attention can be focussed on a critical assessment of the embedded value system in the light of current understandings (Level 3).

Since awareness grows out of reflection on specific experiences, it is limited to the exploration of a particular developmental line. (Freud, 1966). In the transition from adolescent embeddedness around a polarity of dependence to a more adult embeddedness around a polarity of autonomy, some developmental lines such as relationship to family, or to peers, or to career or to sex, love and intimacy have a greater relevance than relationships to time and death or to children. Programs involving late adolescents should be focussed around issues such as making choices, personal responsibility, and relationships using situations drawn from currently dominant developmental lines.

2. Conditions for consideration in program implementation

In creating a program that fosters personal development as well as personal competence, the setting, the atmosphere, the style, and the content need to be considered from the perspective of change theory.

a. Setting

Traditional institutional settings tend to reinforce the authority role of the instructor and the dependent role of the learner. This represents and reinforces the existing culture of embeddedness in which roles and responses have already been internalized. This setting, therefore, raises few new challenges to values. Innovative settings that place the instructor/facilitator within the community of learners, and shift the responsibility for learning to the learners, challenge the embedded roles and responses raising issues such as autonomy and peer and authority relationships. These issues can be raised through structured experiences which then can be explored through guided reflection to raise individual value systems to the level of conscious awareness.

b. Atmosphere

Exploration of individual value systems requires an atmosphere of acceptance, trust, and non-judgement. Any program that aims at promoting personal development and growth needs to focus the program, in the early stages, on trust formation and self-disclosure exercises and must develop a consistent pattern of non-judgemental analysis of group and individual processes.

c. Style

Efforts should be made to establish a sense of egalitarianism and a sense of the value and worth of the individual and of the individual's experience. The role of the facilitator should be twofold: he/she should be the means through which the individual and the group are able to find ways to articulate values and perceptions, and he/she should provide a role model for self-disclosure, acceptance, and non-judgement.

d. Content

Structured experiential exercises followed by guided reflection to raise awareness of process heighten the individual's awareness of the way he engages in an experience and interprets events and activities. This can provide the basis for the Level 1 awareness of learning processes. This can be utilized in a Level 2 reflection to discover the personal meaning given to the experience. This is often most effectively encouraged through the use of metaphor and art. These levels of awareness are necessary if the individual wishes to become engaged in a Level 3 transforming cycle in which the personal meaning of this experience becomes the basis for reviewing and re-assessing similar experiences in one's past. This is probably best facilitated by building into the program a longer range personal reflection and an opportunity to interact with the facilitator as mentor who can probe the reflections to lead to increased objectification and deeper levels of understanding.

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THE MATURATION PROCESS AND LEARNING

Donald H. Brundage

The model described in this paper is designed to integrate the processes of learning and age related maturation and theories of learning to theories of development. The assumption is made that change of the person is constant and that learning both promotes and is a necessary part of change. Further, it is assumed that change is directional, i.e. it is in the nature of growth, bringing about improved functioning of the person, or if positive change is not pursued, a negative direction in terms of functioning results . The theory is not normative in the sense of setting out age-specific necessary developments. It is simply descriptive of the process whose focus is not specific outcomes but a phenomenon of dynamic change.

This paper does not purport to provide anything like a comprehensive or even a detailed account of maturation and learning. The complexities of human functioning are far beyond any simple description. What emerges here is one way to conceptualize learning and maturation with resulting implications for the practitioner. Slicing the pie in a different way would reveal different aspects of learning which, in the living of the human experience are integrated by the self without the sort of abstract conceptualization for cognitive understanding which the present theory attempts.

The Learning Domains

The descriptions of the four learning domains which follow are a reflection of the way in which we conceptualize human functioning. Human learning is understood and analyzed in each of the categories set out and the personal goal of change for improved functioning in any one or more of them is the ultimate purpose of learning.

1. Psycho-motor learning

Psycho-motor skill involves the person in the learning of motor activity and the development of skill in that activity. It does not ultimately involve cognitive awareness on the part of the learner, but, in the initial learning phases, may fully engage the learner's consciousness as he attempts to plan a strategy for learning the behaviour and tries it out. Walking, athletics and other activities requiring physical skill and coordination are examples of this kind of learning.

2. Cognitive Learning

The study of characteristics of cognitive ability includes the work of Piaget(1954), Kohlberg(1969), Loevinger(1976), and others. It has at its basis a notion that people have characteristic ways of making sense of the world by organizing it into abstract categories; that these change with age and that the qualitative differences best suit the leaner if they are in the direction of growth or in the order described by the theorists. A basic element in the development of cognitive capacity is language acquisition.

3. Affective Learning

This form of learning assumes that the person's emotions, feelings and values are fully engaged by the him and are a primary component of his functioning. That people change and grow affectively and learn to function as feeling beings has been well documented by the literature in the work of Rogers(1961), Maslow(1954) and many others. These matters must be recognized and planned for in every learning situation.

4. Transpersonal Learning

This aspect of functioning is less well documented and is based as much on intuition as anything else. It involves the notion of a different way of awareness or knowing, the sort of experience which is reached through meditation and other such techniques. It involves the sense of our relationship to a larger world, that there is something beyond us - a larger order - which seems to be important to the person's sense of personal meaning and fulfillment. Some aspects of this area of learning have been described by Assagioli(1965) and Fowler(1981), among others.

The Self

The link between the four learning domains is the "self". Brundage and Mckeracher(1980) have conceived of the self as follows:

> The ability of human beings to form abstract ideas allows them to think about themselves and how they appear to others. The interpretation of perceived feedback both from within ourselves and from others defines the self. It is characterized as being an organized and consistent whole unit of perception. Though constantly changing, it is specific at any given moment. The individual strives to integrate all his experiences, perceptions, and ideas into the structural system of his self. It comprises both cognitive and emotinal elements. The cognitive element is called self-concept and is the individual's description of himself. The emotional element is called the self-esteem and is the way the individual feels about himself in comparison with others and with some ideal.
>
> In terms of learning, 'all new experiences for the learner are symbolized

4

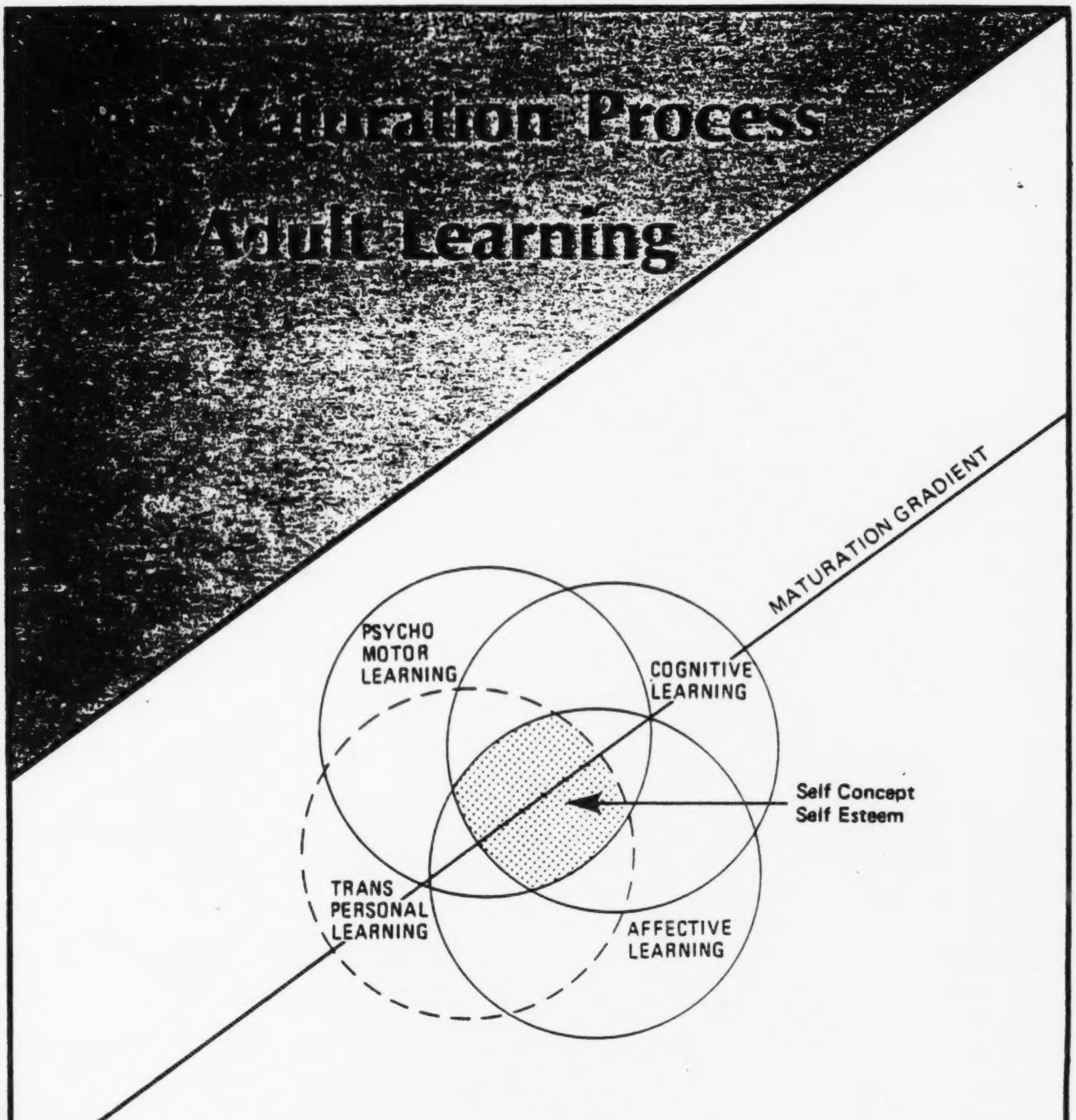
> and organized into some relationship to the self, or are ignored because there is not a perceived relationship, or are denied organization or given a distorted meaning because the experience seems inconsistent with the structure of the self(Kidd, 1973) and threatens it. Another method for dealing with inconsistent experiences is to abort the learning process. Whereas a child's self-concept is in the process of forming and each learning experience may vary the structure but not threaten it with fragmentation or destruction, the adult's self-concept is already formed and each learning experience has the potential for fragmenting it or partiallly destroying it. The adult must defend himself against this threat until he is able to perceive that the worst will not happen and that change in his self-concept can lead to positive results.

The self is the synthesizer of experience and serves to link the four domains. This relationship is interactive. Change in each domain has an impact on the self which in turn affects all the other domains. Growth in one of the domains has a growth promoting effect on all the others through the changes which it induces in the self. Conversely, a lack of growth in one or more of the domains hinders movement along the maturational gradient. The interrelationship of the four learning domains and the self as conceived graphically is represented in illustration #1.

The Maturational Gradient

The person moves along a path which is a function of age and developmental functioning. Developmental functioning has been described in various ways in the literature. For Levinson(1978), the issue of the satisfactoriness of a person's functioning is determined by an examination of his "life structure", the basic pattern or design of a person's life at a given time, as evidenced by an examination of the choices which he makes. Levinson considers the person's life structure from three perspectives: 1) The individual's sociocultural world as it impinges upon him (and) has

Illustration #1



Maturation Process

Adult Learning

MATURATION GRADIENT
PSYCHO MOTOR LEARNING
COGNITIVE LEARNING
Self Concept
Self Esteem
TRANS PERSONAL LEARNING
AFFECTIVE LEARNING

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meaning for him; 2) The degree to which important aspects of the self are or are not lived out in the world; 3) The man's participation in the world. The life structure is satisfactory

> "to the extent that it is viable in society and suitable for the self. The perspectives of both society and self are needed here. A structure is viable to the extent that it works in the world. Within it, a man is able to adapt, to maintain his various roles and to receive sufficient rewards. A structure may be externally viable and yet not internally suitable if it does not allow him to live out crucially important aspects of his self. On the other hand, a structure may be suitable in terms of his inner dreams and values, and yet not be workable in the world. Often, a man's life structure is 'fairly satisfactory': it works pretty well in the world, though it does not bring all the rewards the man had hoped for, and is moderately suitable for the self, though it does not permit him to live out some important wishes and values.
>
> Every life structure provides diverse gains and costs for the man himself, for others and for society. The elements that constitute its great strengths are also sources of weakness and take their toll. A structure is never all of a piece. It contains some mixture of order and disorder, unity and diversity, integration and fragmentation. It is always flawed in some respects. It contains contradictions and gaps which can be modified only by basic changes in the structure itself. The contradictions often have painful consequences, but they may also enrich the process of living and provide an intrinsic basis for change and development.
>
> No matter how satisfactory a structure is, in time its utility declines and its flaws generate conflict that leads to modification or transformation of the structure. It is as Marx said: every system contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction. The once-stable structure passes into a new transitional period. The seasons change. Developmental tasks are undertaken anew, and the lessons of growth are gathered and stockpiled against the new period coming. The pattern of adult development continues."

Maslow's(1954) classic characterization of adequacy of functioning is in terms of his hierarchy of need fulfillment. For Kegan(1982) and Kolb(1984), development involves growth towards an ideal based, in the case of Kegan, on a greater differentiation of self from the world resulting in a richer interaction with it, and in the case of Kolb on a notion of integrity and integrative and adaptive flexibility.

Without examining the validity or preferability of any one of these theoretical frameworks it is arguable that the mechanism which describes the growth towards whichever ideal conception of the person is chosen is the dynamic model of learning as set out here. Further, it can be argued that the model has application as a description of process irrespective of culture or social context, i.e. that the interactive process of learning is universal with its goals being governed by the socio-cultural context. Movement along a developmental gradient is shown graphically in illustration #2:

A basic assumption of positive growth along the maturation gradient calls for a personal balance in the learning domains. This does not refer to equal learning in each but to sufficiently meaningful learning in each to facilitate maturational growth by responding to learning needs as expressed by each domain. An individual profile for learning will not indicate equal accomplishment in all domains but it will reveal a personally meaningful configuration which reflects a state of equilibrium. A lack of development in one or more areas will have the effect of restricting maturational growth as evidenced by the person's sense of dissatisfaction with his life structure and a felt need to change. The incentive may lead to learning and development or it may be resisted because of a resricted sense of self. The results in terms of the model will be an improvement of maturational functioning if successful learning is achieved or a further failure of functioning if it is not.

Conclusion

Learning and maturation are inexorably linked and should be

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Illustration #2

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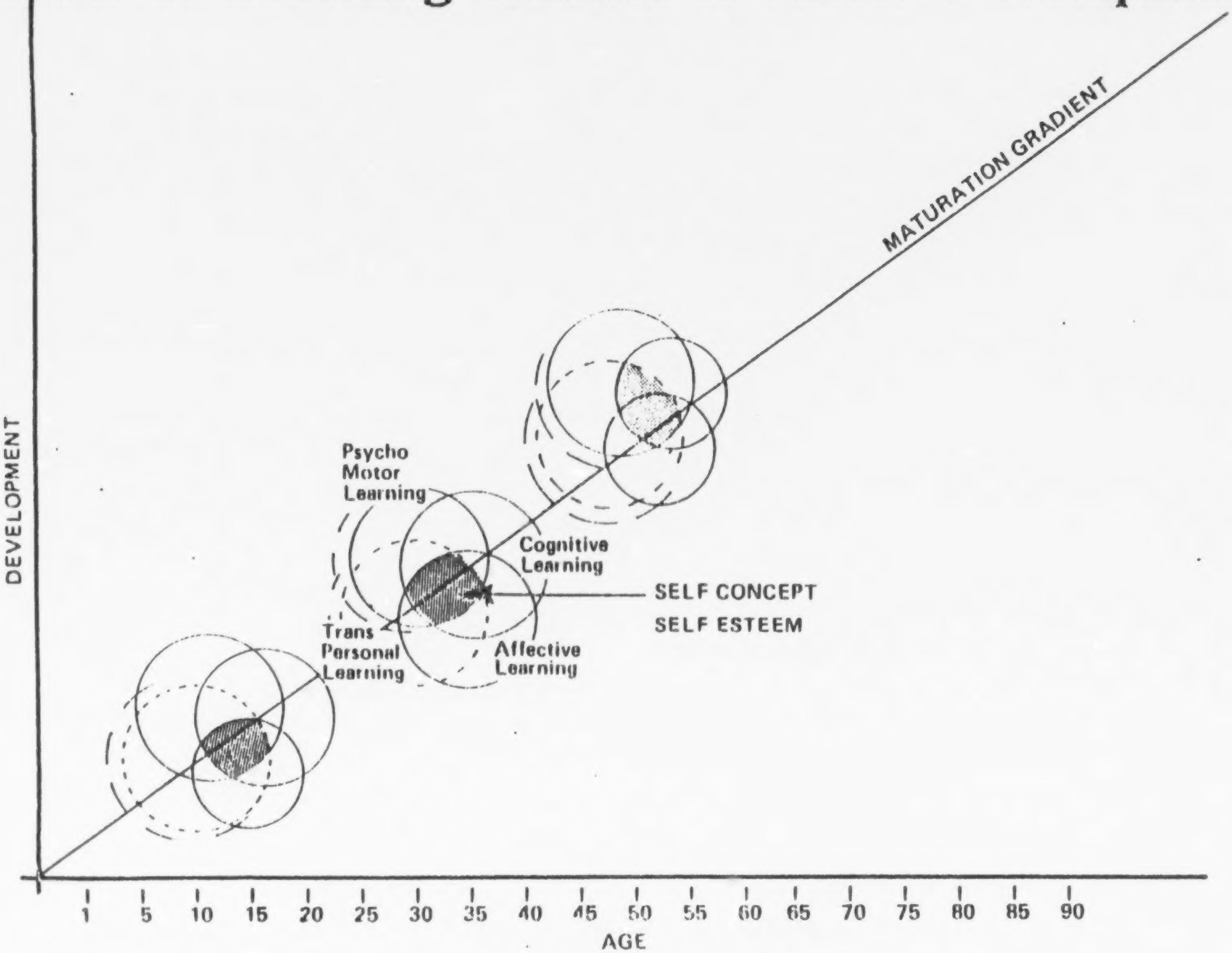
Model of Learning Related to Adult Development


MATURATION GRADIENT
DEVELOPMENT
Psycho Motor Learning
Cognitive Learning
SELF CONCEPT
SELF ESTEEM
Trans Personal Learning
Affective Learning
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understood as interactive forces which modify one another. This paper has attempted to sketch out a model which illustrates the significance of this perspective.

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A Comparative Review of Consciousness Raising and Conscientization

by

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Introduction

The principles, goals and activities of the feminist movement and the field of adult education have much in common. What is written as central to the goals and processes of adult education, emphasizes education and learning that leads to empowerment, supports education that is learner centred, and encourages education that builds upon and acknowledges the individual learner's experience. Historically, adult education has been at the core of many social movements.

The Women's Liberation Movement has arisen as one of the most important social developments of this century. The movement is committed to the equality of women, stressing personal and social transformation, and has an ethical vision of a nonoppressive society. It is a movement of particular power and importance because of its unique integration of exterior realities and interior imperatives (Morgan, 1977).

The cornerstone of activity for the Women's Liberation Movement has been consciousness-raising. This process of building the political perspective of a movement upon personal experiences of the participants - 'the personal is political' - is at the heart of this feminist revolution. Consciousness raising activities provide a free space for learning liberation which as Thompson (1983) and other feminist writers recognize, is performed against considerable odds (Stanley & Wise, 1984; Eisenstein, 1983; Bartky, 1977; Morgan, 1977).

Paulo Freire's concept of conscientization, although developed out of his experience and knowledge of literacy education, has many similarities to consciousness raising (1970, 1973, 1985). Certainly not the only contributor to the adult education literature on emancipatory education, Freire can be considered as the most acknowledged. There are many examples of programs from a variety of social science fields which have applied Freire's approach. "Freire provides a metalanguage that generates a set of categories mediated by those who use them for the insights they might provide in different historical settings and contexts" (1985, p.xviii).

The adult education field has given limited recognition of the feminist movement within its literature and research despite strong similarities between the history and principles. This author also has concern for the consciousness raising process as an activity that has undergone great changes over the last two decades. It is considered by some feminists as no longer necessary as a point of entry for women into the movement. What also must be understood is the necessity of continuing with this process in order to support and maintain a critical feminist consciousness.

The following paper will discuss consciousness raising as the cornerstone of the feminist movement, by comparing it with the concept of conscientization as described by Freire. The comparison of these two concepts, as well as contributing knowledge to the the feminist movement, will also assist those who practice and study adult education to understand education that leads to personal transformation. Consciousness raising groups are social experiments in microcosm, which can provide insight into the link between individual change and societal transformation. This author views consciousness raising groups as representative of a learning context which is humanizing, which unveils reality, and which creates women-centred knowledge. It is a kind of learning that transcends much of the rhetoric of adult education.

Before presenting an overview of the similarities and differences between these two concepts, it is important to indicate particular qualities of the literature sources. Freire's description of conscientization and use of language are more abstract and conceptual than the literature on consciousness raising. On the other hand, within the feminist literature the conceptual analysis of consciousness raising is somewhat limited with the emphasis given to more detailed descriptions of the actual process experienced by women.

The different contexts in which these two concepts have been developed must also be recognized. Conscientization is described by one individual, while the description of consciousness raising is found within a variety of literature sources, with a number of different authors. It must be emphasized that participants in the feminist movement cannot and should not be considered as homogeneous. The oppression of women is universal but feminist consciousness is not. Therefore there is no single reference which can reflect the position of the feminist movement.

Freire's concept was developed along with a specific learning goal, that of literacy. Consciousness raising activities, although they have the general goals of liberation and developing the political from the personal, have not as a rule, been linked to specific learning outcomes or social actions. Freire's writing style, from a feminist perspective, is rather sexist, which reflects the machismo nature of his culture and perhaps difficulties with translation. This author has taken the liberty of making changes within quoted material with the intent of reducing the sexist quality of Freire's writing; such changes are clearly indicated.

In comparing these two concepts, this author has selected several topics or issues where there are strong similarities or differences as a framework for the following discussion. The comparison begins with an analysis of the definitions and then proceeds to the issues of oppression, processes and interaction, leadership, levels of consciousness, and praxis.

Definitions

Freire defines conscientization as "...the process in which men [and women], not as recipients but as knowing subjects achieve a deepening awareness of both the sociocultural reality that shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality" (Freire, 1985, p.93).

Consciousness raising has been described as "...the process of transforming hidden, individual fears of women into a shared awareness of them as social problems, the release of anger, anxiety, the struggle of proclaiming the painful and transforming it into the political" (Mitchell, 1971, p. 61).

Both of these definitions refer to the importance of the development of a new awareness of reality, followed by transformation based on the new perspective. One can interpret Freire's description as recognizing the personal as political, although he does not discuss this in so many words. The feminist perspective views the development of sisterhood, the acknowledgment of women's shared oppression, as critical to the the consciousness raising process and the feminist movement. Although Freire does refer to the necessity of the process occurring in groups, he is less emphatic about the importance of achieving a sense of collective oppression and potential strength, in comparison to the feminist literature.

Oppression

Comparing these two concepts reveals the nature of oppression as a critical element to both, in understanding and making effective the liberation process.

The feminist literature is critical of the oppressive situation in which women have been made to feel inferior and invisible. Their experience has been found to be 'less' than that of men, or for the most part outside of theory, usually developed by men about male experience that is generalized to the 'adult' population (Stanley & Wise, 1984; Thompson, 1983; Spender, 1980). As a result, women's experience has become part of a culture of silence, not because it is illegitimate, but because it has had no voice.

Although there is agreement regarding the reality of the silencing of women's experience, the feminist literature does not reflect a homogeneous view of the causality of women's oppression (Barrett, 1980). Nor is it without criticism of theory that has become elitist, academic, and far removed from women's experience.

In Freire's earlier writings, he based his notion of oppression on a Marxist analysis. However, in this more recent discussions (1985), he refutes the idea of one universal form of oppression, and acknowledges oppression based on sex, age, and race as well as class.

Freire describes oppression as occurring through the socialization of people to a distorted reality which caters to the interests of the oppressing society. The relationship between the oppressed and the oppressor is one of prescription, the imposition of one's choice upon another. This produces a culture of silence, similar to the description of women's situation, in which only the culture and language domimated by a male perspective are considered as acceptable.

Both Freire and the feminist literature agree that oppression can only be transformed if both the subjective experience and the objective analysis occur simultaneously. "Neither can exist without the other, nor can they be dichotomized" (Freire, 1970, p.35). Freire asserts that without objective transformation that goes beyond subjectivist immobility, in which one sits waiting patiently for oppression to disappear, there can be no liberation. Allen (1970) comments, as does Freire , that ideology cannot develop separate from action. She believes that consciousness raising in small groups is the place to evaluate these experiments with new consciousness and new actions (p. 42). Morgan (1977), in a retrospective look at her involvement in the feminist movement, supports this notion of praxis. "We meant to have more consciousness raising meetings - but we were too busy doing actions" (p.72).

Processes and Interaction

The quality of interaction and the process of conscientization runs parallel in many ways to consciousness raising. Consciousness raising groups are leaderless, collaborative groups with no hierarchy, and no presence of an expert. All participants are equal; their personal experiences matter and have significance and above all validity (Eisenstein, 1983). "...the source of authority, of legitimacy and validity about the lives of women, and the significance of what they experienced was the individual woman herself....The validity of the knowledge was underscored by the corroboration of the other women in the group" (p.37).

Although consciousness raising groups do not follow strict guidelines, there are issues or themes that tend to emerge repeatedly across groups. Issues that are initially viewed by the group members as individual problems or deficiencies, once shared, become political statements about women's oppression. The social structures which support such oppression are then discussed and revealed as the targets for change.

This sharing of personal experience has also contributed to the emergence of women-centred knowledge. "Many of the crucial elements of the new knowledge about women's situation ... were accumulated through accounts first garnered in cr groups" (Eisenstein, 1983, p.37). Allen describes the small group as a place where ideology grounded in women's condition can develop.

Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed occurs 'with', not 'for', the oppressed. Essential to this collaborative process is a kind of communication Freire refers to as dialogue. "Dialogue is the encounter between men [and women] mediated by the world, in order to name the world" (1970, p.76). Dialogue cannot take place without a love and respect for the oppressed people. It must be practiced with humility, not with a perspective which purports to know what the 'peasants' really need to learn. Rather than hierarchical, the relationship in dialogue is a horizontal one, an exchange between equals.

As in consciousness raising groups, where the issues arise out of the participants' personal experiences, Freire's literacy programs begin with the co-investigation of themes. Once certain themes are identified by the participants along with the co-investigator, images such as drawings and photographs are presented which then stimulate discussion as to their meanings. Following this analysis, these themes are presented as problems, which the participants can act upon to change.

There is a similar process within consciousness raising groups (Allen, 1970; Eastman, 1973; Eisenstein, 1983). They begin with opening up or reaching out to make contact with other women and establish trust. This is followed by sharing and building of a collage of similar experiences. Once this collage has been formed, analysis of the nature of oppression occurs. It is here that women begin to go beyond personal experience to look at women's predicament with some objectivity. Finally this analysis goes through further synthesis and abstraction, to create a vision of possibility.

There are strong similarities between the quality or nature of both consciousness raising processes. Each emphasizes a collaborative, horizontal style of communication with respect and validity given to the participant's knowledge and experience. The experiences of the peasants in the literacy programs and the women in consciousness raising groups become the themes for learning the language, or the issues on which political perspectives and strategies are based. Although both consider the process of 'naming the world' as critical, the feminist view expands upon this 'naming' in the discussion of the the necessary development of women-centred knowledge.

Leadership

Consciousness raising is an experiment in the process of critiquing established social norms and the shaping of new ones through consensus rather than majority rule (Hardt, 1985). It is an example of a mature form of participation and cooperation. Working by means of consensus results in the development of reciprocal, non-hierarchical relationships and conscious avoidance of the imposition of a leader or teacher.

Freire's notion of emancipatory education is also based on a collaborative, non-hierarchical structure. However, his views diverge from those in the feminist literature in that they involve leadership by authentic, humanist educators who become partners with their students. Only those who are truly in solidarity with the oppressed can fight for liberation with them. In this regard, Freire acknowledges the possibility of the oppressors becoming authentic leaders and educators with the oppressed. Freire comments that one of the major hurdles in the conscientization process is the locating and training of educators who can truly work with, and not for, the people.

The early radical feminist literature made it very clear that men were viewed as the oppressor, and their presence was not welcome within consciousness raising groups or at any other level in the movement (Sarachild, 1968). As the debate has broadened regarding the causality of women's oppression, the perception of men as partners in the feminist movement has become more liberal (Barrett). However, their presence within consciousness raising activities is still unacceptable.

The perceptions of leadership as a critical element in the two processes may not be as divergent as they appear. Eastman (1973) argues that it is more accurate to identify the leadership in consciousness raising as 'group-centred' or moving from one participant to another, rather than nonexistent. She also indicates that in spite of their claim to be leaderless, consciousness raising groups are intent on encouraging the latent leadership capabilities of women.

Levels of Consciousness

There are interesting parallels between Freire's levels of consciousness, from magical to critical, and the development of feminist consciousness as a result of consciousness raising. Freire describes three major states of consciousness (1973). In magical consciousness, individuals fail to grasp causality but rather see their situation as their fate, their lot in life as decreed by the gods or superior powers. This consciousness is characterized by fatalism and adaptation, rather than resistance. In naive consciousness, there is recognition of causality but there is no hope of change, the situation is viewed as static. In critical consciousness, individuals begin to analyse their situation with a critical perspective on the correlation between causes and circumstances. There is a sense of possibility of change through their own praxis, that is action based on reflective thought.

The development of feminist consciousness emerges when there is apprehension of possibility (Bartky, 1977). Prior to this stage the perception of women's condition is viewed as natural, inevitable and inescapable (magical consciousness). Feminist consciousness begins with acknowledging certain features of social reality as intolerable (naive consciousness). What is critical to this emerging consciousness is the sense of a possibility of a different state of affairs and the power to create this new possibility (critical consciousness).

Research has analysed women's levels of consciousness upon entering and following participation in consciousness raising groups (Bailey, 1977, Home 1977). The results indicate that women who choose to enter such groups are already at a level of awareness of women's inequality, that is naive consciousness, and move through to the critical stage as a result of the process.

More than in Freire's writings, the feminist literature elaborates upon the development of such a consciousness, and in particular discusses the difficulty of maintaining a critical or feminist consciousness that places women in a continual state of contradiction (Stanley & Wise, 1984; Thompson, 1980; Bartky, 1977; Morgan, 1977). Feminist consciousness is a divided consciousness. There is awareness of women as victims as well as awareness of one's own power and the possibility of growth. Living with this new consciousness reveals the sexist dimension of reality. However, this sexism inhibits communication of this new consciousness, increases frustration, and reinforces isolation.

Bartky describes the struggle for feminists as one that encompasses 'double ontological shock'. First there is a realization that "...what is really happening is quite different from what appears to be happening; and second, the frequent inability to tell what is really happening at all" (p.29).

There are interesting similarities in the feminist literature to Freire's descriptions of the process of attaining a critical consciousness. However, Freire pays less attention to the problems of transition into critical consciousness than does the feminist literature. He recognizes the conflict of the oppressed as a tragic dilemma, but comments only that this must be taken into account by emancipatory education.

On the other hand, he acknowledges that once the process has begun, it must be continued for true liberation to occur. The feminist movement has paid less attention to the need for consciousness raising on a continuing basis. Energies were directed elsewhere in the movement, once the nature of women's oppression became public knowledge, and some believed that consciousness raising groups would become unneccesary.

Recent criticism has been directed to the false notion of 'arriving' at a feminist consciousness (Stanley & Wise). The movement is facing many challenges in maintaining the victories it has won and changes it has effected in nonegalitarian practices. It is also facing the reality that many women are currently experiencing alienation from the movement. These criticisms reveal the necessity of ongoing consciousness raising, or in Freire's terms, the continuing challenge of critically facing reality.

Praxis

The notion of praxis or action is very important to both concepts. Praxis is central to Freire's theory of conscientization. It is defined as reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it. "When the oppressed discover their oppressor they can become involved and begin to believe in themselves. Discovery must not be purely intellectual but must also involve action, cannot be limited to activism but [must] include serious reflection" (Freire, 1970, p.36). Freire is emphatic that praxis is quite different from blind activism or armchair intellectualism, and elaborates upon this notion throughout his discussion of conscientization.

Freire's discussion of praxis appears more conceptually developed than that in the feminist literature. However, he does not elaborate upon the difficulty of learning liberation in an environment that is nonsupportive and hostile to such new consciousness.

The descriptions of consciousness raising and feminist consciousness, incorporate the notion of action, and acknowledge the importance of going beyond an awareness of oppression to changing the social structures that support inequality. "The mere apprehension of some state of affairs as intolerable does not, of course, transform it. This only power can do" (Bartky, p.26). Research on consciousness raising groups suggests that they are effective in improving self esteem and self confidence, and in developing a sense of sisterhood with other women, but not effective in the articulation of a new consciousness that includes action (Eastman, 1973; Bailey, 1977; Home, 1977; Abernathy et al, 1977; Kravetz, 1977; Kincaid, 1977).

There has been criticism by some feminists of the leaderless, structureless nature of consciousness raising groups and suggestions that some structure, involving leaders and a hierarchy, is required for action (Eastman, Bailey). Other feminists affirm that what should be acknowledged, supported and explored is the individual woman's struggle with transformation which can only occur within the collaborative, horizontal communication of consciousness raising groups. The feminist movement must continue to recognize the daily 'doing of feminism' as a critical and political form of feminist expression which provides the foundation for other forms of social action (Stanley & Wise).

Conclusion

The comparison of Freire's concept of conscientization to the feminist notion of consciousness raising indicates strong parallels regarding the notion of oppression, the stages of the conscientization and consciousness raising processes, the collaborative and nonhierarchical learning context, and the passages that participants move through as they approach critical or feminist consciousness.

There are also differences between these two concepts, although at times very subtle. The feminist literature emphasizes, more than does Freire, the collective aspect of liberation, the awakening to sisterhood, as a major aspect of the development of feminist consciousness. Although both concepts incorporate the notion of praxis as critical to the conscientization process, Freire's discussion, although abstract, offers a more theoretical analysis than the feminist literature. Research of consciousness raising groups indicate that they do not move beyond personal problem solving, but there are feminists who argue that the daily political activity of doing feminism remains the most important action for the feminist movement. The feminist literature emphasizes more than does Freire, the importance of creating women-centred knowledge as a result of the consciousness raising process. Finally, Freire's writings have acknowledged the lifelong process of developing critical consciousness. That is, one never finishes such a journey. The feminist literature has only recently begun to discuss the ongoing nature of the consciousness raising process.

In conclusion, those scholars and practitioners in the field of adult education, must begin to recognize the significance of the feminist movement to adult education and the similarities between them. Adult education must also consider the implications of supporting this movement, and the potential for expanding the understanding of the link between individual and societal transformation. Future discussions and critiques of Freire's concepts, would be enhanced by examining the activities of the feminist movement, and in particular the research on consciousness raising. Equally as important is the benefit to the the feminist movement of utilizing Freire's concept of conscientization as a perspective or a metalanguage in which to evaluate and renew the consciousness raising process, which is so crucial to the success of this movement and to reaching the goal of an egalitarian and nonoppressive society.

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Students' Choice of Delivery Format:

face-to-face vs. distance education

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Students' Choice of Delivery Format:
face to face vs distance education

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University education has been and in large measure, continues to be available to those Canadians who can meet the entrance requirements, afford the associated costs and be physically present on the campus. Attending lectures in the major method by which most Canadians obtain undergraduate and graduate degrees.

A number of demographic and socio-economic changes occurred in the 70s decade which necessitated re-examination of the status quo. No longer were there large numbers of young adults queuing in long lines waiting to be admitted. Universities recognized and responded to these changes by looking at strategies to maintain enrollment and facilitate learning.

Among those early changes were scheduling of courses later in the day, evenings and weekends and the provision of opportunities for mature students who did not meet the formal academic requirementsto be admitted to university. These coupled with the scheduling of off-campus sections of courses with travelling instructors locally and at a distance were strategies for reaching out to potential students.

Recognizing the limitations of these strategies, universities began to explore more effective and efficient means to make higher education more accessible to populations less able to come on-campus in the traditional manner. As these changes were taking place, the public were becoming more vociferous that their tax dollars supporting higher education should have more equitable service to non urban dwellers.

In parallel with these changes communication technology development was progressing rapidly. It was recognized that the technology devised for commercial and military application had a social service capability, specifically in education. The use of satellite based instruction was introduced in British Columbia in 1978 ~~and~~ to reach ~~now~~ approximately ninety seven percent of the population.

British Columbia, one of the largest of the Canadian provinces, includes several islands, and is mountainous except for the plains in the northeastern corner. The universities are situated in the southwestern corner of the province. To meet the demands of Registered Nurses for access to a Baccauleaurate in Nursing, communication technology was utilized. Delivery strategies used were multi-media and included satellite broadcast delivered by cable television companies, teleconferencing, and print materials.

The research study was concerned with the delivery format choice of Registered Nurses registered in a core credit course sponsored by the School of Nursing which had an on-campus section and a distance education section. It is important to recognize that these students were all licensed professional practitioners plus possessing all the characteristics of adult learners. A review of the literature revealed that in previous studies when students were given a choice between face-to-face instruction and alternate forms of instruction, students choose traditional education with an instructor. Students living in Victoria initially had a choice between the two methods of instruction. The instructors for the two sections were professors in the School of Nursing. As the enrollment in the distance education section swelled a decision was made to not accept any further Victoria students in the off-campus section. Students too distant from the university to attend on-campus classes were welcome to register in the distance section.

Interest in these phenomena led to the study which sought to test previous research findings and determine the factors that influence mature students' choice of format for education.

Methodology

All Victoria area students registered in Nursing 301 (3 units) in September 1983 at the University of Victoria were included in the study.

During the last week of the above course all students received a letter informing them that they would be telephoned requesting their opinions regarding the course. A week later two interviewers telephoned students using an open-ended questionnaire. Each call varied in length depending on the responses but averaged ten minutes.

A total of seventy five students were interviewed, 86 percent of those contacted initially. Four major research questions were examined.

1. Which format did students choose?

Of the 75 students surveyed, 48 percent were enrolled in the distance education format while the remaining 52 percent were in on-campus face-to-face classes. While this would suggest that students were divided as to format, this conclusion is somewhat inaccurate since not all these students deliberately evaluated the alternatives when they registered for class. Almost half of the on-campus group (49 percent) were not aware that they had an option while only one distance education student was not aware that she could register for face-to-face instruction. Follow up questioning disclosed that many students who were not permanent Victoria residents (many full time students were from elsewhere in Canada) did not realise that the distance education option was available. Thirty one percent of students taking direct instruction and 42 percent of distance education students thought about possibly taking the course in the alternative format, (Table 1) so the choice was a serious one and not automatic for 36 percent of these students.

TABLE 1

Number and percentage of students who had thought of alternative format, by format choice

Format type	Thought about alternative Yes	No	Totals
Face-to-face			
f	12	27	39
%	30.8	69.0	99.8
Distance			
f	15	21	36
%	41.7	58.0	99.7
Totals			
f	27	48	75
%	36.0	64.0	100.0

2. On what basis did students make their choices?

For those students who made considered choices, the predominant reason for choosing face-to-face instruction was a preference for class instruction (23 percent) or for the class instructor (8 percent) (Table 2). For distance education students, 42 percent chose it because either it fitted with their work pattern or face-to-face instruction with its multiple incursions on-campus did not. Twenty two percent mentioned family and a further 19 percent mentioned schedules, all indicating that fitting education into highly structured work and family requirements meant that some students had no alternative. For them, face-to-face instruction was impossible.

Since work was identified as a major influence on choice, students were asked if they worked outside the home and for how many hours per week. In all 69 percent of students were employed; while almost half (46 percent) of face-to-face students were employed, most were listed as on-call and generally had less then 10 hours per week. Ninety four percent of distance students worked, with the majority in regular employment of 15 to 30 or more hours per week.

Students were also asked whether they were presently taking other courses and this was true for 68 percent of students. Ninety percent of face-to-face students were registered in other courses and further questioning showed that the majority of these (67 percent) were full time students (i.e. taking at least 12 units in the September to April period). In comparison 44 percent of distance students were also registered for other courses but the load was generally one other course (3 units).

Some students mentioned previous positive experiences with distance education as a factor in their choice, so students were canvassed to considered whether they had previously taken a distance education course. Only 16 percent of students had had a previous course by distance education from the University of Victoria; this represented 31 percent of distance education students but only one on-campus student.

TABLE 2

Students' reasons for choosing format

Reason For Choice	Face-to-Face		Distance		Totals	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Not choice	19	48.7	1	2.8	20	26.7
Family	0	0.0	8	22.0	8	10.7
Work	1	2.6	15	41.7	16	21.3
Class instruction	9	23.0	0	0.0	9	12.0
Instructor	3	7.7	1	2.8	4	5.3
To fit schedule	1	2.6	7	19.0	8	10.7
Full-time student	2	5.0	0	0.0	2	2.7
Other	4	10.0	4	10.8	8	10.7
Total	39	99.6	36	99.1	75	100.0

3. Would other delivery format alternatives have affected their choice?

Students were asked to consider whether a weekly evening course, or a series of weekend seminars would have affected their choice. Overall, 44 percent of students indicated that if an evening course had been available it would have affected their choice and 31 percent said that they would have preferred a weekend seminar series (Table 3). While similar numbers of face-to-face and distance students would have preferred weekend seminars, almost twice as many distance students (29 percent) as face-to-face students (15 percent) would have been affected by having an evening class choice. Because the data were gathered at the end of the course, it is difficult to untangle this information from students' dissatisfaction with the course format chosen. The distance education course format included weekly live interactive television programs followed by 30 minutes of free audio-conferencing. These were one time only broadcasts and this limited students' flexibility. Students, therefore, were asked to consider whether they would have preferred a print and telephone only format. Twenty-eight percent of distance education learners would have preferred this format but so would 26 percent of face-to-face students.

4. Were students happy with their choice?

In general both groups were pleased with the format they had chosen. For the on-campus group 74 percent were happy while 64 percent of the distance students were content. Reasons given for being less than pleased included the amount of work and energy involved in studying on your own, having to come to a viewing centre to see the programs, and being unable to talk to the professor in person. For some students this was their first university credit course in some years and they underesti-

TABLE 3

Student preferences for alternative formats, by format choice

Choice	Format type		Yes	No	Totals
1. Evening face-to-face	face-to-face	f	11	28	39
		%	28.2	71.8	100
	distance	f	22	14	36
		%	61.0	38.9	99.9
2. Weekend seminars	face-to-face	f	11	28	39
		%	28.2	72.8	100.0
	distance	f	12	23	35
		%	33.0	63.8	96.8
3. Print/ telephone	face-to-face	f	10	29	39
		%	25.6	74.0	99.8
	distance	f	10	26	36
		%	27.7	72.0	99.7

mated the planning which they had to do to keep up to date with the reading for the course.

Conclusions

The results of this study readily indicate that using enrollment figures to judge students' choice of format for instruction can be very misleading. Not only are students not always aware of their options, some have really no choice. For them, if a distance education format were not available, they would not be able to participate in higher education.

Those students who deliberately chose on-campus instruction did so predominantly because they wanted to learn with a class, yet only one on-campus student had any basis of experience for comparison. Providing an on-campus evening course was also not an obvious positive alternative for the majority of students. Student comments reiterated the value of the distance education format in providing an opportunity to mesh work, family and education requirements. One student commented that she preferred to learn on her own because as a mature adult she was less comfortable in the peer group social setting of the classroom. Another spoke of the importance of being able to spend valuable time in study rather than travelling to campus and on in-class discussion. When 44 percent of the distance education group were registered for at least one other course, the use of time becomes an even more important factor.

In general, students registered for distance education courses because of work and family commitments, and they were satisfied with their choice. However, a minority would have preferred some form of face-to-face instruction. For some this was a learning preference, while others lacked the necessary organizational and study skills essential for successful completion of the course. Partly as a result, the Division of University Extension, published a workbook on study skills and students entering the nursing program by distance education were counselled to take the introductory course offered by our sister institution, the Open Learning Institute which introduces distance learners to the skills and planning necessary for successful studying at a distance. On the basis of student and course team evaluations, this particular course has been revised. It now includes pretaped programs each of which is broadcast twice, a reduced reading load, and more structured questions to direct students' learning. While not all students may choose this format completely voluntarily we still strive to make it a valuable and productive learning experience for every student.

TEACHERS AND REFLECTION:

A DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE REFLECTIVE PROCESS WHICH TEACHERS USE IN THEIR EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING

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CASAE Conference

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TEACHERS AND REFLECTION: A DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE REFLECTIVE PROCESS WHICH TEACHERS USE IN THEIR EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING

Introduction

> It is only the hour of reflection that is at last
> the hour of sedateness and improvement.
> (Landor, Pentam wks., 1846, 11, 309)

This study has focused on the reflective activity of teachers within the context of their experiential learning. It has attempted to answer the question, "In their role as professionals, what cognitive/emotional activities or processes do teachers use to learn from experience?" An investigation of the reflective processes of teachers which occur after experience and lead to what they identify as significant learning has been the purpose of this inquiry. Within that framework, common features of the reflective process, as it was described by this group of teachers, were examined. In addition, the study tried to identify and organize the learning which participants deemed significant, the experiences which they described as initiating their reflection and resultant learning, and the attitudes and conditions which facilitated their reflective processing.

The need for research which examines the cognitive and emotional processes of individuals has been well documented over the past few decades by philosophers (Schutz, 1963; Natanson, 1963), sociologists (Bruyn, 1966), behavioural scientists (Kelly, 1963; Rogers, 1980; Price & Barrel, 1980), learning theorists (Piaget, 1970; Kolb, 1976; Taylor, 1979) and others. Despite this concern, research which focuses on these processes from the individual's perspective is relatively recent. An investigation of the internal cognitive and emotional processes, as perceived by the individual experiencing them, poses a challenge to traditional research. Therefore, methodology springing from the phenomenological tradition is particularily appropriate to an inquiry of this nature. Goldstein (1963) pointed out that human action is informed by meanings, and he agreed with Schutz (1963) that the "standpoint of the subject is the only real standpoint for the study of social phenomena" (p. 295).

The definitions which formed the basis for this study were derived from John Dewey (1933) and a series of educational researchers working within the framework of experiential learning. Dewey believed that reflection is an orderly chain of ideas unlike the automatic and unregulated images in a stream of consciousness. He stated that reflective thinking must concern itself, not only with the material upon which considerations rest, but with the premises as well. Reflection involves:

1) a state of doubt, hesitation, perplexity, mental difficulty, in which thinking originates and
2) an act of searching, hunting, acquiring, to find material that will resolve the doubt, settle and dispose of the perplexity.

During the years since Dewey's seminal work on reflection, influences from psychology (Rogers, 1980), sociology (Schutz, 1963;

Natanson, 1970), learning theory (Piaget, 1970; Kolb & Fry, 1975; Kolb, 1984) and other fields have contributed to a broader concept of reflective activity. A definition of reflection as a logical sequence of ideas leading to a consequence (Dewey, 1933) does not fit comfortably in the context of the 1980's. As Collingwood (1956) stated:

> . . . by substituting logical analysis for attention to experience it overlooks the immediacy of thought, and converts the act of thinking, from a subjective experience into an objective spectacle. (p. 299)

Recent research on the role of reflection in experiential learning has culminated in a definition which refers to the affective and intuitive dimensions of reflection as well as the cognitive ones (Boyd, 1981; Boyd & Fales, 1983; Boud, Keogh & Walker, 1984).

The present study restricted its scope to what Tough (1979) terms "deliberate" learning. Even though the participants' experience which initiated learning may have been unexpected, the process which followed it was a deliberate attempt to comprehend the experience and to integrate the resulting insight into the existing store of knowledge.

Methodology

In order to organize the phenomenon of reflection and to shape a provisional analysis (Barrie, 1981) the investigator conducted three pilot studies involving seventy-two teachers from various Ontario school boards. The results of these studies indicated the nature of the research, provided a provisional analysis and dictated the choice of method. This preliminary investigation signified that the semi-structured interview would be the most appropriate method to assist the participants to identify a specific learning and the experience(s) which triggered it and recall the process which led from experience to learning.

Whether people are aware of their reflective processes and are able to recall and describe them with some accuracy, continues to be a subject of debate despite the fact that research has been based on the assumption that it is possible (Clark & Yinger, 1977; Boyd & Fales, 1983). Boyd (1981) warned that doing justice to the phenomenon of reflection involved the recognition that the description of reflection is a translation of the phenomenon rather than the phenomenon itself. "This distinction between the lived, experiencing of the phenomenon and its translation . . . is an important one to keep in mind" (p. 30).

Participants for this research were drawn from a potential pool of over 5,000 teachers, employed by a large, urban separate school board, during the 1984-85 school year. These fifteen men and fifteen women, ranging in age from twenty-five to fifty-two years, taught in a variety of situations and across a range of levels covering both the elementary and secondary panels. Although these thirty teachers were not a representative sampling of their board or of teachers in general, selection criteria attempted to ensure that they would include a wide variety of positions, ages, teaching experiences and educational backgrounds. The size and location of the school where participants worked, as well as its ethnic and socio-economic composition, were also criteria for selection. Five men and five women were selected to represent each of three age categories--20-29 years, 30-39 years and 40 years and over. In each of the six subsets, three teachers were sought out because they were recognized by their peers to be thoughtful persons who were capable of articulating their ideas. The two remaining teachers in each category were chosen at random.

The semi-structured interviews began with the initial question, "In your role as a teacher, what was the most important thing which you learned over the past year which helped you to improve in your job?". Many participants chose to talk about learning which had occurred earlier than the previous year. After describing their learning, teachers were asked if they could identify an experience which seemed to initiate or "trigger" that particular learning. When that experience had been related, the teachers were encouraged to recall the thoughts and feelings which followed the experience and led to the identified learning. The emphasis was on remembering an experience and the reflection which followed rather than on awareness of the process.

Data Analysis Process

In a qualitative study of this nature an emergent research design offers the greatest flexibility and latitude in approaching the data and successfully unearthing the most significant components without distortion (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In this approach to research, analysis permeates all stages from the earliest decisions about research design, through data collection and in-depth analysis to the final written report (Miles & Huberman, 1984). In recent years, qualitative researchers have established canons of methodological rigor which direct fieldwork methods and analytic techniques (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975; Bogdan & Biklin, 1982; Miles & Huberman, 1984).

Work with the initial interviews indicated that the data would be more intelligible and available to analysis if it were arranged in a display rather than transcribed as continuous manuscripts. The following headings, indicating the chronological sequence of events, were used to display each interview.

Before Experience	Experience	Reflection		Learning		After Experience
		Description	Comments	Description	Comments	

By using this method, recalled reflection could be separated but not isolated from other aspects within the same interview and could be viewed in context. Within each display and among displays, constant reference could be made from one aspect under study to another and to the total context.

The analysis of data was a fluid process which included the making of memos, coding and filing, sorting, validating, cross-referencing and verifying. This approach has been described by Glaser (1978, p. 56) as "running the data open," or open coding. It was aimed at generating an emergent set of categories rather than determining categories at the outset and then fitting data to accommodate them. The analysis of recalled reflection also included examination to identify the content of reflection, the mental activity indicated, the language forms used, the presence of emotion and evidence of process awareness, and sequence.

Results

In order to understand the analysis of the reflective process, the initiating experience(s) and the resultant learning of each participant must be viewed as the setting in which the reflective activity occurred. The learning which participants identified as significant included learning about self, students, staff, administrators and/or the educational system. The majority of the teachers cited learning about students as most significant. Consistent with this was the fact that the behaviour of students was the trigger which most often launched reflection and resulted in important learning.

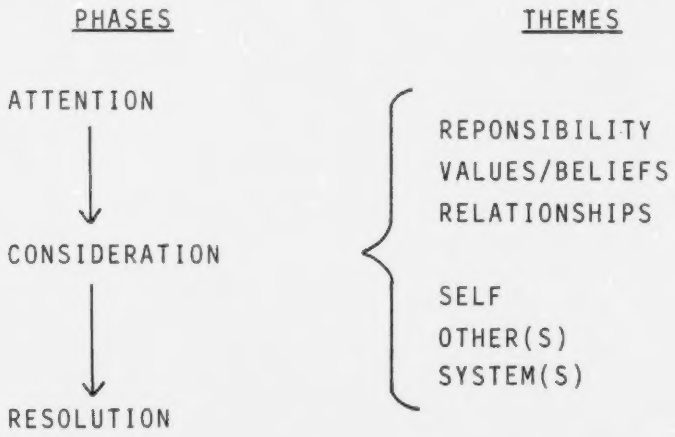
Although the study identified certain common features of the reflective process, it did not purport to describe that process in its entirety. It simply identified a few common features in the reflection of a particular group of people as they learned from their experience. First, common to the interviews in their recalled reflection was a sequence of reflective activities. The three phases through which participants passed as they reflected on an experience have been entitled Attention, Consideration and Resolution. Although the process did proceed in the sequence described, there was a great deal of interaction among the phases.

The attention phase consisted of the teacher's initial cognitive and emotional reactions to a triggering experience. These reactions involved an expression of surprise and comments about expectations which had not been met. Thus, conflict, caused by the discrepancies arising between one's expectations and one's perceptions of an occurrence, was launched. An additional dimension was revealed by statements which indicated an individual's awareness of his/her process during the attention phase. After reacting to the disruptive experience, participants moved on to a more thorough examination of the event and its possible repercussions. The attention phase seemed to be a brief prelude to a more prolonged and detailed rumination.

The consideration phase included attention to three areas: responsibility, values/beliefs, and relationships, examined with reference to oneself, others and/or systems. Recalled reflection presented a richly textured integration of the three features of the consideration phase with emotional components and awareness of the process. During consideration, experience was recalled, ideas were examined and weighed, questions were raised, inconsistencies were recognized and challenged, previous positions were reiterated, comparisons were made, relationships among and between components were examined and a host of other mental activities took place. The internal negotiation conducted by participants as they reflected on the common themes helped them to arrive at some kind of resolution. Negotiation may have been based on a strong emotional component, established patterns, or have been suggested by the unique aspects of a particular conflict.

Finally, in the resolution phase, consideration and internal negotiation around responsibility, values/beliefs and relationships resulted in insight. A perception that had not existed before in exactly the same form or with the same intensity came into consciousness. Resolution of the conflict was arrived at by some while others reached a tentative solution. Insight resulted in a transformation of attitudes and feelings (Mezirow, 1981) for some while it confirmed existing concepts for others. Although synthesis resulted from the interaction among the three common themes of the consideration phase, the subject of responsibility was highlighted by some, a decision around values/beliefs was made by others and acceptance of a changed view of relationships was pinpointed by still others. As in the other two phases, emotional components and awareness of the reflective process were an enriching factor.

A summary of the common features, including the sequence and the themes, is presented in diagrammatic form below.



Conclusions

By describing the internal cognitive/emotional experience of teachers, the present research makes rudimentary attempts at organizing and analyzing reflection within the context of experiential learning. In his model of the learning cycle, Kolb (1984) placed reflective observation between concrete experience and abstract conceptualization. However, unlike the present study, he did not designate the specific elements of reflection.

Although previous research has not identified and organized the elements within reflection in the same manner as they are presented here, evidently there is some support for viewing reflection as a process with a sequence of activities and for the individual themes found within the consideration phase. Although Taylor's (1979) work, conducted in an academic setting, indicated stages in the inquiry sequence which are similar to the phases discovered here, it was limited in its application to practicing professionals. Boyd and Fales (1983) described six components of the reflective, learning process in what appeared to be a sequence of reflective activities. Their work served as a support for the present study although there were some significant differences. As was the case with Taylor's (1979) research, Boyd and Fales (1983) emphasized the intuitive nature of insight--almost as if it came in spite of the mental activity which preceded it. In the present study, the descriptions of recalled reflection showed that various components which led to insight had been considered and negotiations among the themes of consideration had taken place before resolution could be reached. Support for the existence of a sequence of cognitive/emotional activity within reflection was found in the model entitled the Reflective Process in Context, which was designed by Boud, Keogh and Walker (1984). These authors placed the emotional component within their model and discussed the effect which it could have on subsequent reflection.

Implications

Even though the reflective process is a highly complex and individual one, we can discern common features in the reflection of a group of professionals. Therefore, it is possible to make proposals to pre-service and in-service providers which would enable them to work toward helping teachers maximize their learning from experience.

The facilitator who values experiential learning as a valid form of self-improvement must be a person who: a) has great respect for the expertise which individual learners have acquired through their experience, b) can help adult learners value their own knowledge gained through experience, c) examines his/her own assumptions and values in a regular and organized fashion and d) values reflection as an essential source of personal learning and development. This describes the educator who should be involved with adult learners. Such a person must counteract the prioritizing that has resulted from institutionalized learning and systems of reward and accreditation, which adults have come to accept. A great sensitivity to the individual learner and a broad perspective on all aspects of learning is essential for the facilitator. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, the facilitator who hopes to promote reflective thinking in adults must have a genuine desire to learn from those learners. Only by valuing what they have acquired through their years of experience can the adult educator instill in them a respect for the fruits of their experiential learning.

Adults can gain a better understanding of the type of learning which has been significant in their professional lives and the kind of experiences which have led them to it. By recalling their thoughts after the experience(s), they can begin to realize that reflection is a phenomenon which is subject to examination, that they have developed habits and patterns of reflection and that they have some awareness of their own reflective processes. Gradually, learners realize that by suspending judgment, delaying closure and tolerating ambiguity, they can gain a better understanding of and control over their reflective process (Boyd & Fales, 1983; Boud et al., 1984). Activities generated by values education, problem solving theory, learning style theory etc., can be used to assist learners at different stages of the reflective process. The important thing to remember when applying theory to adult learners' experiences is that it must be based on their understanding of their own individual reflective processes. The potential effectiveness of theory which is presented without that understanding is severely curtailed. All the theories and techniques mentioned above must be placed, by the learners, into a perspective which begins with their own experience and reflection. An attitude which regards the fruits of research as the only source of legitimate "answers" militates against promoting reflective thinking in learners. If the introduction of theory or techniques for the improvement of reflection brings with it a devaluation of the individual's reflection, then it not only serves no useful purpose but it also has the potential to damage the respect for experiential learning which must be nurtured.

The findings in this study are significant to teachers and professional development programmers alike. It is hoped that these findings will:

a) grant respectability to experiential learning in the minds of teachers and professional development providers;
b) increase learners' and facilitators' awareness of and sensitivity to the reflective process;
c) lead to a re-evaluation of educational needs assessment in the light of a new understanding of reflection within the experiential learning of teachers;
d) re-awaken interest in planned professional development days as opportunities to acknowledge and share the expertise which teachers have acquired from professional experience;
e) help professional development programmers organize activities which extend interpersonal relating, problem solving and creative thinking skills, levels of moral reasoning, etc., within the context of each teacher's understanding of his/her reflective process and
f) inspire a rethinking of the philosophies and methods of evaluation which are currently in use in education.

Until recently the difficulties of examining internal emotional/cognitive activity and the prevailing climate in research have made an investigation of reflection next to impossible.

Perhaps this descriptive study will help generate hypotheses and encourage other researchers to continue the search for a clearer understanding of reflection, the process which has such great potential for changing an individual.

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A PERCEPTUAL MODEL OF EDUCATIONAL AND CAREER GOAL ATTAINMENT BEHAVIOUR:

The cyclic process of life long learning

By McKenzie H. Hey Ed. D.

The process of life long learning continues to gain prominence and awareness as governments, institutions of education and educators of adults delve into the dilemmas and disgraces of "One in Five" involved in life long learning and the other four who tend not to be involved. This paper is the result of research to show that a greater awareness of the process will reduce much of the directional frustration now encountered by many of the remaining eighty percent of the population. Awareness of the process will also enhance the goal attainment efficiency of those now involved in the learning activities.

I suppose much of the inspiration to delve into the nature of this behaviour stems from a quote from Roby Kidd. As far back as 1959 he observed that adults

> "continue to learn throughout life right until the time when life itself is passing. Of course there are great differences between individuals and the success of any (adult) learner is bound by his innate capacities. Very few of any adults have ever approached their potential achievement in learning. We need to remember that the strongest shackles binding an adult learner are self imposed and have nothing to do with age."

This quotation describes the adult learner in a cyclic life long learning process ending only by death and limited by "self imposed shackles".

THE STUDY

A study to clarify a major aspect of these shackles has been conducted beginning with a sample of 194 adults over a six (6) year period. Derived models of the process have been clarified, revised and reconstructed over time to increase the perceptual awareness potential of the final hybrid. It seemed to be a matter of forming a gestalt of the multi stages in the process of goal perception and attainment.

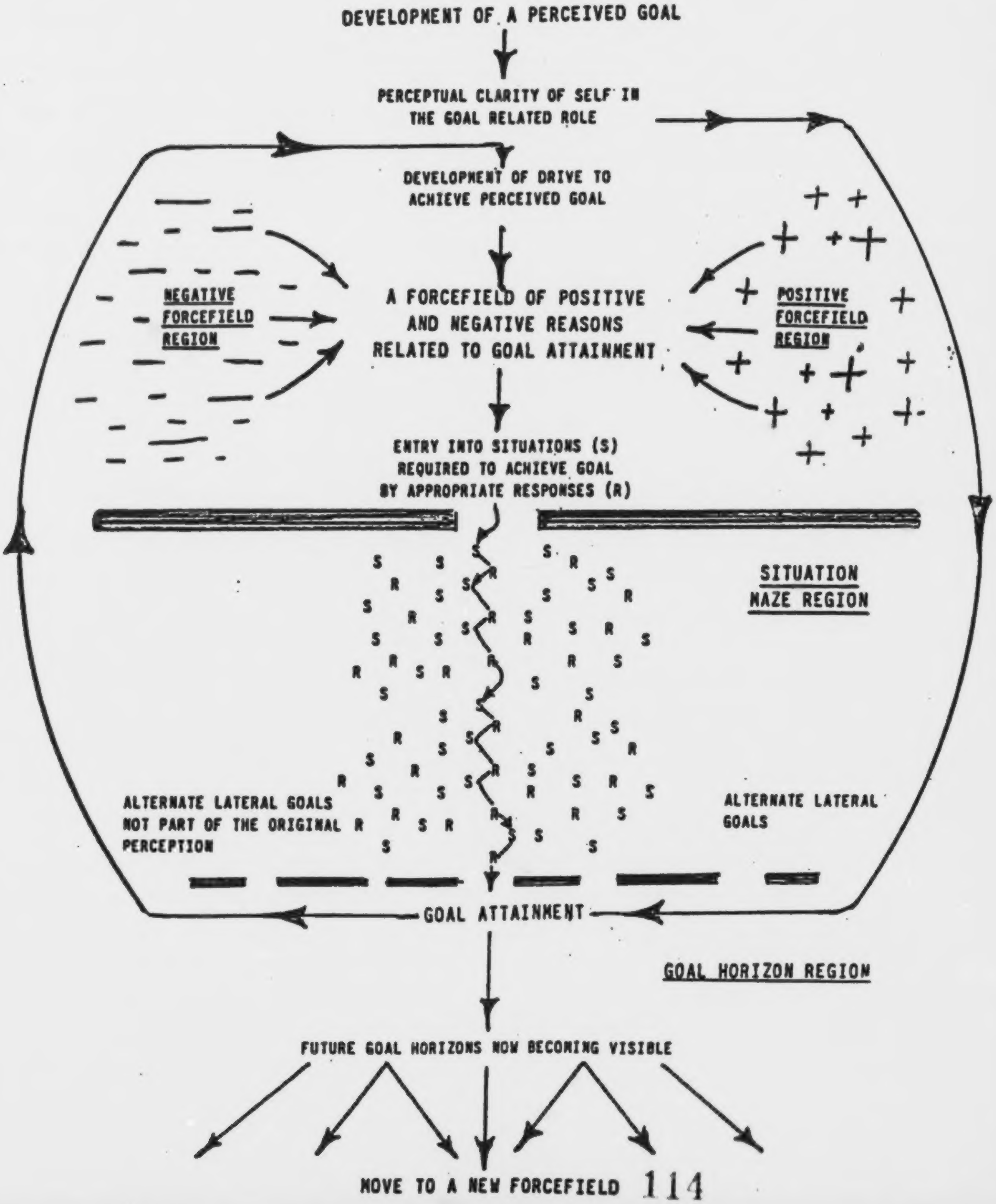
PURPOSE

The purpose of this longitudinal study was to provide counsellors of adults with a conceptual model of the three phase process involved in returning and continuing towards an educational or career goal. With the assumption that the ultimate goal in counselling is learning and that the ultimate goal of learning is to become one's own teacher, the model can provide a guiding perceptual awareness of the process from educational and career goal need realization to attainment satisfaction. It has both micro and macro situational applications. Figure 1 illustrates the model of the three stage process from initial awareness of a need to need satisfaction and an expanded awareness of other potential goals that then become visible.

The model in simplified form is comparable to the Rogerian stages of exploration, action and implementation. However the implementation stage has a closer resemblance to the final stage of the standard research model of pre and post treatment with the post stage involving recommendations for future action. Although these two examples are in general procedural models, figure 1 includes the additional dimension of conceptual perception. The initial stage of the composite model of figure 1 is a forcefield region of positive and negative reasons why to or why not to pursue a particular goal. Once this has been accommodated in a positive way the individual proceeds to a situational maze region required to gain the goal encompassed competencies. Upon attainment of the goal the individual has entered the goal region or reached a horizon that now make possible the visualization of further goals previously obscure.

FIGURE 1

PERCEPTION OF GOAL ATTAINMENT BEHAVIOURS


DEVELOPMENT OF A PERCEIVED GOAL
PERCEPTUAL CLARITY OF SELF IN THE GOAL RELATED ROLE
DEVELOPMENT OF DRIVE TO ACHIEVE PERCEIVED GOAL
NEGATIVE FORCEFIELD REGION
A FORCEFIELD OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE REASONS RELATED TO GOAL ATTAINMENT
POSITIVE FORCEFIELD REGION
ENTRY INTO SITUATIONS (S) REQUIRED TO ACHIEVE GOAL BY APPROPRIATE RESPONSES (R)
SITUATION MAZE REGION
ALTERNATE LATERAL GOALS NOT PART OF THE ORIGINAL PERCEPTION
ALTERNATE LATERAL GOALS
GOAL ATTAINMENT
GOAL HORIZON REGION
FUTURE GOAL HORIZONS NOW BECOMING VISIBLE
MOVE TO A NEW FORCEFIELD

These new materializing goals provide an opportunity perception that ranges over 360 degrees but each leads to a further forcefield in the cycle. However, each passage through the cycle raises the level of awareness and direction efficiency due to increased clarity of the process.

Some specialized terms have been used in this study. In most instances, meanings are assumed clear and based on standard definitions used in reference text or dictionaries. Where terminology might have multiple connotations or specialized meaning for the purpose of this study the following has been included for clarification.

GOALS - EDUCATIONAL/CAREER

Usage of the term goal, is defined as an objective that an adult conceptualizes as a means of satisfying of an existing or future need, for personal development. Where goals are of a career nature, it infers a longer term objective than educational goals. Career goals usually include a progression of educational goals and normally have a specific relationship to a concern for occupational needs. However, educational goals may or may not be related to occupational needs. At times adults might decide to satisfy a need for increased knowledge about such things as group behaviour or politics and enroll in a sociology type course to satisfy perceived personal or social needs. Compared to the microcosm of the single cycle of an individual course or learning experience, the individual may perceive the need for a macro sequence such as that required to obtain credits for a baccalaureate degree.

GOAL HORIZONS

This term refers to an attainment level of academic, social or vocational competency that an adult has perceived as an aspirational objective. Usage in this study refers to adults conceptualizing a level of attainment that seems realistic according to their awareness of their abilities at the time. Included in this concept are the normal visual limitations associated with a horizon. However, once a horizon is reached perception is increased or clarified to include new goal horizons previously obscure. This is something like climbing a mountain in a range and from the summit further peaks are visible. An example from the study sample was an adult who decided to take a cabinet making night class for a high school credit and to build a piece of furniture. Later he discovered the personal satisfaction he derived from this work and the potential career opportunities in becoming a cabinet maker of custom furniture. This lead to a series of educational objectives and eventually his own business.

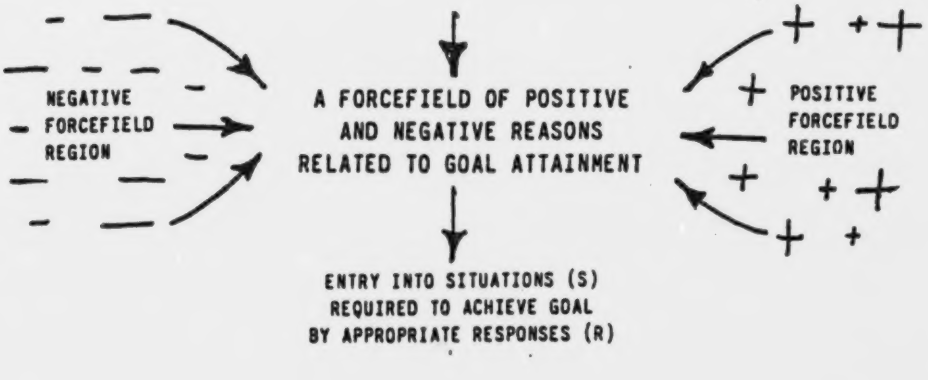
GOAL PERCEPTION

This concept refers to a cognitive process of visualizing one's self in a goal related role and having some notion of how to prepare plans/strategies for attainment. Durkheim, Merton and others looking at social class socialization and the idea of sub-cultures considered an individual's awareness of the ways to achieve and having the means necessary for achievement as a cultural concern. Individuals coming from family backgrounds where the normal procedure to attain a particular education or career goal was unknown and discouraged, suffered from perception difficulties necessary to select the appropriate situation for goal attainment. The limited perception of their potential was further damaged by teachers categorizing students potential according to family, social class and early maturation. This had a tendency to be reinforced through a self fulfilling prophecy. Individuals in the sample from this type of background required considerable assistance to find their way through the forcefield and situation maze regions of the model. However, once through the cycle they encountered reduced difficulties when adopting further goals. It seemed to be a matter of increasing perception with success and to build self confidence and esteem.

The ability to perceive one's self in a role related to a desired goal was of major importance prior to consideration of the forcefield region of the model. At the concrete level some of the sample had to be put in contact with those who had achieved a desired goal to actually observe them in the role or see the specific paper qualification. Others could generate an initial drive for goal attainment just through pictures of persons in the desired role or through written accounts. But whatever the imagery competency of the individual, one seemed to be required to form a mental picture of one's self as a success in the perceived goal. Once their success image had materialized the adult was able to muster motivational drive to proceed through the forcefield of positive and negative reasons to proceed.

THE FORCEFIELD REGION

FIGURE 2


NEGATIVE FORCEFIELD REGION
A FORCEFIELD OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE REASONS RELATED TO GOAL ATTAINMENT
POSITIVE FORCEFIELD REGION
ENTRY INTO SITUATIONS (S) REQUIRED TO ACHIEVE GOAL BY APPROPRIATE RESPONSES (R)

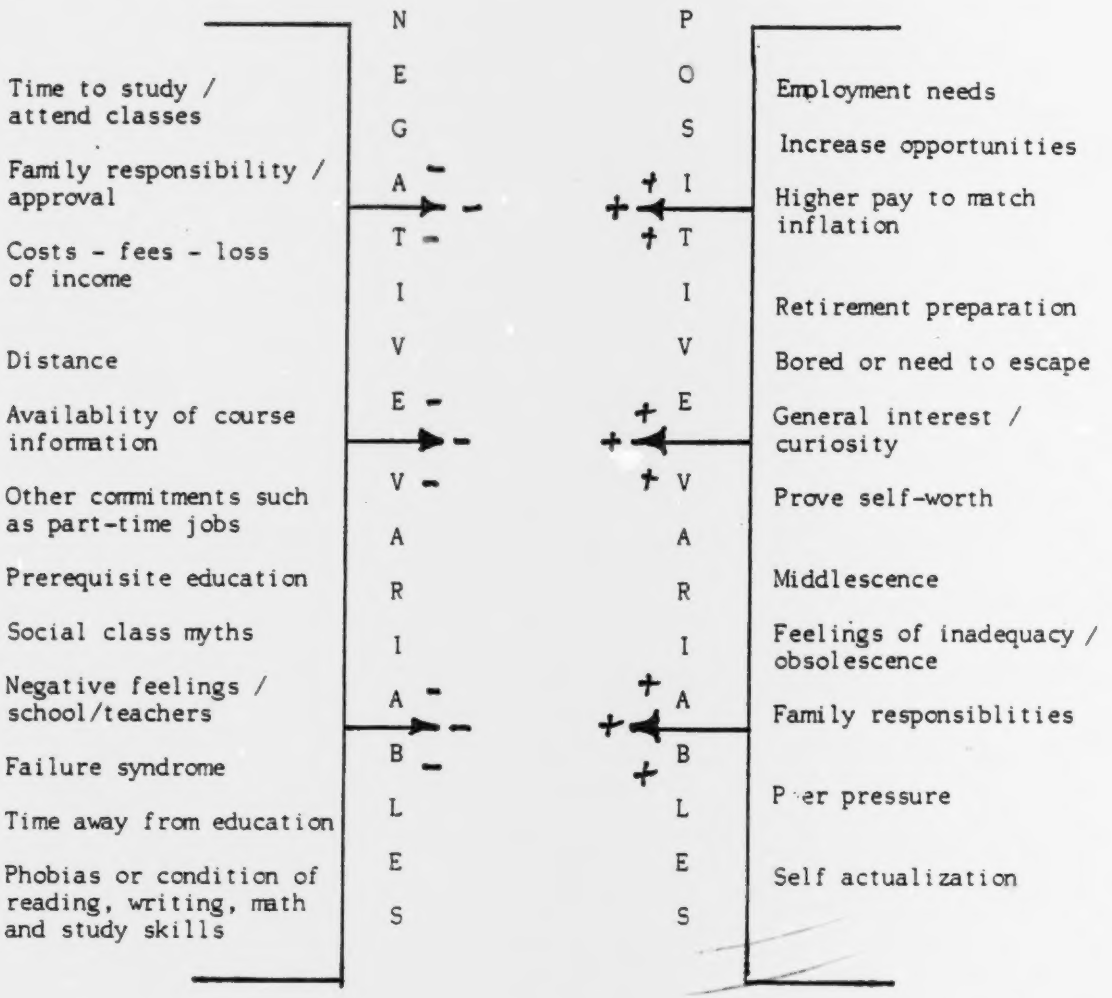
The model of a forcefield of positive and negative reasons to proceed or not to proceed can be traced back to Miller (1967). He continued the work of London (1963) and used attitudinal tests to measure the intensity of feelings related to motivational drive to participate in education. Personal problems such as: feelings of learning competency inadequacy, weak study habits, poor reading and comprehension skills, lack of self confidence, fees and time were very negative. However, self-understanding: success in previous ventures, curiosity, desire for self-actualization and rewards associated with knowledge of progress towards a goal were most positive. Tough (1967) also investigates this same forcefield region and observed that adults must develop positive answers for both dimensions of the question "why begin".

It was not the intention of this study to duplicate previous work but rather to extend and develop the perceptual awareness dimension. If adults could picture the process they were involved in, they had a better chance to avoid over-reaction to emotionally charged negative variables. As a consequence, adults in the sample were surveyed at times when they were in the forcefield region in an attempt to rank order the positive and negative variables. It was found that individuals were affected in different ways and at varying levels of intensity. Attempts to rank the variables in figure 3 as normative data proved to lack significance for the composite sample. It was found that when individuals were able to identify a specific variable as a demotivator. clarity developed to deal with the difficulty and ease of passage through this difficult region.

FIGURE 3

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE VARIABLES

Figure 3 illustrates the most common variables that tended to reinforce the drive to enter a learning sequence and the de-motivating factors that had to be turned around (reverse the polarity), neutralized or ignored.


NEGATIVE VARIABLES
Time to study / attend classes
Family responsibility / approval
Costs - fees - loss of income
Distance
Availablity of course information
Other commitments such as part-time jobs
Prerequisite education
Social class myths
Negative feelings / school/teachers
Failure syndrome
Time away from education
Phobias or condition of reading, writing, math and study skills
POSITIVE VARIABLES
Employment needs
Increase opportunities
Higher pay to match inflation
Retirement preparation
Bored or need to escape
General interest / curiosity
Prove self-worth
Middlescence
Feelings of inadequacy / obsolescence
Family responsiblities
Peer pressure
Self actualization

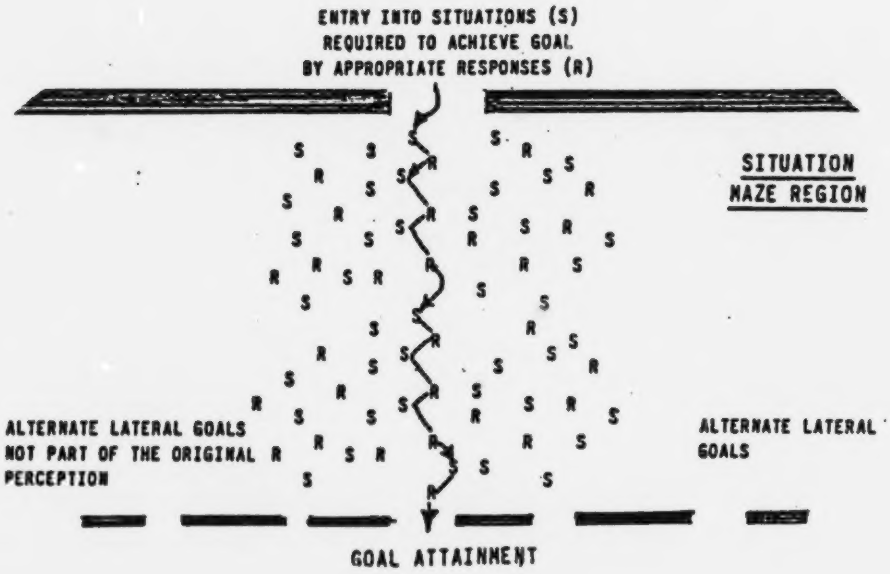
It was not always easy for many individuals to pass through the forcefield. Some found their drive towards entry and a goal thwarted by a very high profile intense reason not to begin. The process for these seemed to be from adoption of a perceived need, to a trial run through the forcefield frustration by an apparent highly emotionally charge negative reason, and ending with apathy. It was found that the negative aspects of the forcefield were generally contained within the field. However, the positive aspects existed both in and out and had an ambient dimension that could redirect an individual back to the forcefield at a later date. Most adults in the sample who were going through the region the second time seemed to have a better grasp of the interaction of the variables and were able to reduce levels of anxiety caused by high profile negative reasons. Much of this was seemed related to what might be considered an unplanned counselling component that could have surfaced with the interview of respondents when questions were asked about their awareness of various positive and negative variables. There was a significant reduction in anxiety in a subsample that were shown a model of the process involved. Conceptual awareness of the region model seems to assist in reducing high levels of over rationalization of the importance of some negative factors and aids individuals to seek solutions or avoidance.

Maintenance of drive through the forcefield is most difficult for the inexperienced and unwary. It can be similar to a mine-field if an individual cannot forsee and deal effectively with the many negative reasons to stop. Preoccupation with any one factor can lead to frustration and then apathy. Wise counsel and a conceptual image of the region model at this time seems to aid in maintenance of a positive approach to resolution of difficulties. Conceptual clarity of the situation appears to assist movement through the region. Nevertheless, for some alternate intermediate minor goals may be required at this point to remediate such things as weak or inadequate learning skills.

Perception of a goal included planning and action to mediate or remediate demotivating perception clouding by negative feelings. Availability of adequate information of personal strengths, weaknesses and the sequence of the situation, was a major barrier at the entry point to the situation maze leading to goal attainment. Information related to the situation to be encountered had to be gathered and plans or strategies developed to map a procedure through the situation maze towards the desired goal. The procedure is very similar to planning a trip and obtaining road maps that portray the most effective route to a destination and also areas to avoid or bypass.

FIGURE 4

SITUATION AND RESPONSE MAZE REGION


ENTRY INTO SITUATIONS (S)
REQUIRED TO ACHIEVE GOAL
BY APPROPRIATE RESPONSES (R)
SITUATION MAZE REGION
ALTERNATE LATERAL GOALS NOT PART OF THE ORIGINAL PERCEPTION
ALTERNATE LATERAL GOALS
GOAL ATTAINMENT

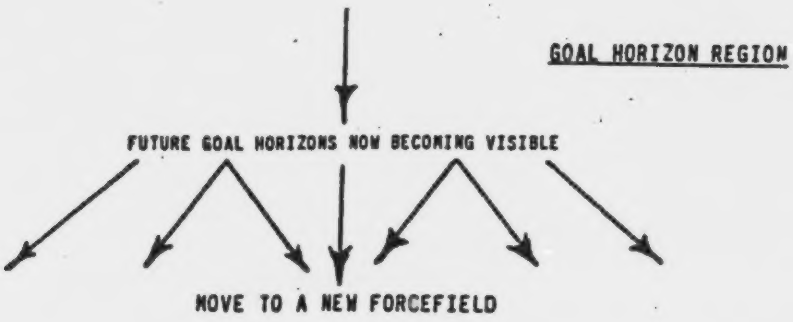
The maze consists of all the situations an individual must pass through to achieve the required knowledge, skills or other competencies encompassed in the desired goal. Direction through the maze is determined by one's ability to look ahead and select the next appropriate situation in the goal direction. This of course, infers an appropriate response during the time of the situation and the conclusion of each. As was indicated previously, the situation response (SR) maze has both micro and macro applications. Each can represent a single learning experience or a complete course in a series. Each situation within itself has a microcosm of small situations. In fact the total model of this paper exists within each situation. At the micro level the situation could be responding to a specific question, an assignment, participating in a discussion group or writing a test for a course.

The SR maze sub-model illustrated in figure 4 is a sociologial variation of the Dollard Miller (1950) stimulus-response psychological model. It has wide application in the field of Sociology and was used by Durkhiem to explain cultural deviance. However, ability to perceive the way through the maze of situations is conditioned by socialization and by significant others. Adults respond in situations according to their self concept, their perception of the relevance of the situation to their specific needs, their perception of an appropriate role learned previously, probably by modelling behaviour, and from available pertinent information. Direction and momentum is maintained between situations and the goal as long as the original attainment motivational drive is reinforced with success related to a correct response. When difficulties occur, lateral or substitute goals may begin to materialize. However for some, small detours are in order to compensate for remediation needs.

Attention should be drawn to the solid and broken lines at the beginning and end of the SR maze (fig 4). Once entry is gained the adult may select a path of situations that could lead away from the original goal. This means that, each situation completed tends to add clarity to the required goal competencies. Chance situations encountered, whether for remediation needs or other purposes, can help to crystalize alternate goals that will appear in the subsitituted direction. For this reason the end of the maze is represented by a broken line with numerous ports of exit to goals that were unperceived at the time of entry. Much of this can be compared to planning a trip or vacation. Maps, transportation information, events, sites and other data are collected. One feels confident of reaching the desired destination as long as approproate sign posts appear to indicate the desired direction. However, there is always the possibility of discovering alternate attractions along the way where one may decide to alter the original plan for a substitute destination. At times this may not be a matter of choice because of unforseen difficulties encountered.

FIGURE 5

GOAL HORIZON REGION



Kimmel (1974) and later Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) describe attainment of goals as turning points. They considered each career achievement to be a plateau. From this vantage point, adults are able to develop a perspective and become sensitive to further opportunities in an occupational or life cycle. At times, further horizons are selected due to interaction with a role model. For many in the study sample this model was a relative or a close friend. Other times, a further goal appeared on one's horizon during situational experiences and when conditions were such that possible goal attainment could be perceived. Kimmel (1974) and Biehler (1971) establishd the concept of a sequential process of goal setting. However, much of this early research was related to life cycles and not the mosaic of every day situational forces that suddenly open up a new potential horizon for goals. These potential goals can be in any direction or at any level within a career cluster. If there is sufficient motivational drive or at least orientation, then the individual starts to move to a new forcefield for another triple region cycle.

It was found in this study of 194 adults over six years, that knowledge of the process increased one's efficiency within the cycle. When an adult is aware of the potential variables acting for and against progression, passage was less obstructed. It is possible to sit down and plan one's passage through the region by listing the options encountered by others. Especially in the forcefield, many usual solutions to negative variables could be listed, allowing an adult to select the most appropriate to one's circumstance. The model provides a useful device to aid in goal attainment planning and is ultimately a device for use by the sophisticated learner to enhance the potential of being ones own teacher.

Bigge (1982) in his publication of "Learning Theories for Teachers" observed that

> "Human beings —— are time-binding individuals.
> The fact that they are time-binding means that both a past and a future enter into their perception of things. Second, they have a highly developed imaginative capacity. Also they are cultural beings, building on their past in a peculiarly selective factor. Then, people have a unique capacity for social interaction with their fellows, which enables them to transcend concrete situations and to live in a more or less imaginative realm. And most significantly, a human being, in his perceptual process, may view himself simultaneously as both the subject and the object."

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MICROTEACHING TRAINING PROGRAM FOR THE ETHIOPIAN NUTRITION INSTITUTE

by

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ABSTRACT

The Ethiopian Nutrition Institute, located in Addis Ababa has recently requested an educational consultant to assist in the evaluation and re-direction of their Training and Materials Production Department. A visit by the senior author in May of 1985 revealed the basic needs of the Institute. A program is currently in the process of being developed, based on a microteaching and reflective teaching model which will assist members of the ENI Training Department to deliver instructional interventions more effectively and more efficiently than before. This paper summarizes that project, with particular reference to the appropriateness (or inappropriateness) of the transfer of methodologies from one culture to another.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to report a project conducted for and with the Ethiopian Nutrition Institute. The project is perhaps best described as an example of a small scale on-going program which attempts to apply the principles of instructional development to informal adult education in a third world setting.

METHODOLOGY

This paper presents a blending of two methodologies, the case study, and action research. It is a case study, because it focuses upon a particular case, that of the Ethiopian Nutrition Institute(ENI), and its particular training needs. This is also an incomplete case study, since the project is still in progress. A case study normally falls into the category of naturalistic inquiry, with all its inherent difficulties, not the least of which is the fact that naturalistic inquiry belongs within "New Paradigm Research," and as such is somewhat suspect in terms of methodology, generalizability, reliability, and validity. For this paper, we shall state simply that case study methodology is appropriate here, since we wish to document the complexity and contextuality of instructional development in action in a third world setting.

Second,this paper belongs to the category of action research. Action research, simply defined, is research "in a programme of planned change" (Burgess, 1985). In this case, the planned change involves the development of a process focus within the training program of the ENI. More specifically, Hult and Lennung (1980) define action research as that which

1. simultaneously assists in practical problem solving and expands scientific knowledge,
2. as well as enhances the competencies of the respective actors,
3. being performed collaboratively,

4. in an immediate situation,
5. using data feedback in a cyclical process,
6. aiming at increased undestanding of a given social situation
7. primarily applicabile for the understanding of change processes in social systems,
8. and undertaken within a mutually aceptable ethical framework.

We believe that all of the above criteria are met in this project.

BACKGROUND TO THE PROJECT

In 1984, at the request of the Ethiopian Nutrition Institute, a proposal was written by Dr. Gustaaf Sevenhuysen of the University of Manitoba. That proposal included a component dealing with the ENI Training and Materials Production Department, one of four ENI departments. An original objective, written into the first proposal was for a consultant to assist ENI in evaluating its on-going program of information dissemination.

Accordingly, in May of 1985, the senior author of this paper left Winnipeg to spend the summer in Addis Ababa. The purpose of this visitation was two fold: First, the consultant would assist the ENI training department to evaluate the media it used to disseminate nutrition information. Second, the consultant would set in motion the initial phases of a needs assessement with the objective of presenting ENI with a series of firm proposals at the end of the summer.

The initial needs assessement was carried out using a variety of methods. Most important was a series of on-going discussions with the senior training staff. In addition, information was collected through internal reports, surveys, workshop sessions, and evaluations of ENI training materials.

The result of the needs assessement was relatively straight forward. The focus of the ENI training department to date was on content, namely the content of nutrition. On the other hand, there was virtually no focus on process. It was suggested therefore that ENI begin to develop a program which would stress the process of training and teaching, that is the how, rather than the what. The recommendation of the consultant was worded as follows:

"Recommendation One. Focus to date within the Training Department has been on the content dimension of training and materials production. In contrast, little or no attention has been paid to the methodology dimension or HOW to teach. I recommend the development of a methodology component to be added to the training department. Such a dimension would probably include microteaching as a major component, since the needed equipment is here (at ENI). The microteaching component could be a major ENI centre for training other trainers in Ethiopia."

(Hlynka, 1985)

A grant proposal was written and submitted to the World Health Organization (WHO)for funding. The intent of the proposal was to bring two of the three senior staff members of the ENI training department to Winnipeg for an in-depth orientation of training and teaching methodologies, with primary focus on microteaching as a way of teaching trainers the basic elements of information dissemination methods.

The proposal was funded and the two arrived in Winnipeg for April and May of 1986.

To date, they have received a variety of exposures of educational and training tecniques. Always, the Ethiopian guests were allowed to over-ride any pre-program planning to set their own agenda wherever appropriate, although an initial agenda had been proposed and accepted.

The overall 8 week agenda may be summarized as follows:

WEEK ONE: Orientation to Winnipeg, and to the project.

WEEK TWO: Community planning issues and cross-cultural education.

WEEK THREE: Visit to Thompson Manitoba to examine cross-cultural programming aimed at Manitoba natives, with a similar aim as ENI rural programs.

WEEK FOUR: A variety of short workshops and visitations.

WEEK FIVE and SIX: A microteaching course, conducted by C. Pangman and D. Hlynka. The purpose of this workshop was to provide a sensitization of the potential impact of the microteaching model.

WEEK SEVEN: Seminars, discussion, meetings, with content focus on needs assessement for planning, programming, and evaluation.

WEEK EIGHT: Wrap up, final report.

PROGRAM PLANNING: A MICROTEACHING COURSE FOR ENI

By this time it was clear that a major addition to the ENI program would be a course in microteaching. This section will describe two varieties of microteaching courses deemed relevant for importation to ENI, summarize perceived problems in implementation of said program, and finally suggest how program implementation and evaluation will be conducted.

1. OHIO STATE REFLECTIVE TEACHING MODEL

The reflective teaching model of microteaching was first presented to ENI staff at a workshop conducted by the senior author at Nazareth Ethiopia, May 1985. Reflective teaching is a modification of microteaching which focuses on the teaching of complete mini-lessons without use of video equipment. As such it has a distinct advantage in a developing country where video may not always be accessible. A series of some forty "lesson plans" are provided, which provide everything the "practice teacher" needs to know about the topic in question. The program is planned for groups of 20-30 participants. The large group is then divided into small groups of 5. Each group of five is assigned one "teacher" who has had the previous day to prepare to teach a five minute lesson. Upon completion of the lesson there is a small group debriefing, after which all groups are called together for a large group debriefing.(Cruikshank, 1985)

2. THE U OF MANITOBA MICROTEACHING MODEL

The second exposure to a microteaching model was presented to the two Ethiopian delegates in a tailor made course delivered in two weeks of May, 1986. The course instructors were Dr. Claire Pangman of the University of Manitoba Teaching Service, and Dr. Denis Hlynka, the senior consultant in this project. The hand picked audience for the program included the following:

Gustaaf Sevenhuysen, Faculty of Human Ecology, University of Manitoba, and originator of the ENI project.

Dr. Fred Drewe, director, International Centre for Foreign Students, also an original member of the ENI grant proposal.

Grace Odwako. Foreign student from Kenya, working on a graduate program in nutrition education.

Goodluck Nwaerondu. Foreign student from Nigeria, working on a graduate program in educational technology.

Afework Ayele, Ethiopian student working on a graduate program in educational technology. Member of ENI.

Bantirgu Hailemarian, head of ENI Training Department.

Wagaye Mesgfin, head of Materials Production Unit within the ENI Training Department.

The focus of the course was a thirty hour practical experience of teaching/training techniques. The "micro" component was derived from the fact that the course stressed specific teaching/training skills taken out of context, and "practiced" in five minute mini sessions. These sessions were videotaped, then played back to the class and critiqued. Every student had an opportunity to demonstrate each technique.

The content covered was as follows.

1. Introductions. Each participant was asked to introduce himself to the group. Upon completion, the tape of the entire class was replayed and critiqued.

2. Exposition. In this segment, each participant was asked to prepare a five minute "exposition" on any topic of interest to them. As each session was completed it was immediately played back and critiqued.

3. Divergent questioning. Each participant was given a single word, then asked to diverge. Words were selected from a list including art, tension, pressure, currency, pool, love, mercenary, friction, help.

4. Divergent questioning - 2. This time participants were asked to diverge from a one line quotation such as "Man is the only animal that laughs" and "All that glitters is not gold."

5. Convergent questioning. This is the opposite of #4. This time participants attempted to draw out from their audience a well known saying such as "Travel is a part of education." and Knowledge and wisdom are different."

6. Discussion. Participants worked in pairs. The first participant presented a 3 minute exposition. The second participant was required to act as facilitator for a ten minute discussion session. This final session of the course was debriefed, but without the use of the video camera.

It is recommended that a program be set up for ENI which combines the features of both MICRO and REFLECTIVE teaching models.

POTENTIAL PROBLEMS IN THE ADAPTATION OF A MICROTEACHING PROGRAM FOR ENI

The literature on microteaching provides a useful starting point for the project at hand. This section describes our assumptions and potential solutions.

First, the initial needs assessement has convinced us that (a) such a microteaching program is worhwhile, and (b) such a program is feasible.

Second, it is assumed that our initial needs assessement is accurate, that ENI is "expert" in content expertise, but weaker in "process" expertise. It is the major purpose of this project to upgrade the lack of expertise in the process/metholology dimension.

Third. It is believed by the authors that such a state of affairs, that is, the emphasis on content and de-emphasis on process, is not an unusual one. (Indeed, we may well find such a distinction is a major factor in Western training and development organizations!)

The literature on microteaching seems to support the above comments. Most relevant to this paper are a series of papers/studies which focus on the use of microteaching in third world settings. In a general sense, Stewart (1985) has warned against blindly applying inappropriate educational technology to the third world. In the case of microteaching at least two such potentially inappropriate dimensions need to be examined.

1.Hardware. The use of video and/or television may not always be readily available so a program needs to be developed which can operate with or without the use of television.

2. Expertise. It needs to be determined whether the expertise to offer a microteaching program is available at ENI, or whether this expertise can be cultivated.

3. Adaptation to a third world setting. The literature shows several initial attempts to adapt microteaching to the kind of program and setting we have in mind. Perrott(1981) in the United Kingdom, has devoted some discussion to the transfer of a microteaching program, first from the USA to Britain, and then from the UK to India. The major aspects of program adaptation were

(1) use of language,
(2)choice of examples reflecting national curricula,
(3)changes reflecting cultural differences,
(4)changes to meet different administrative arrangements, and
(5)changes in technology used.

Each of these should serve as guideposts for the ENI adaptation.

We shall comment briefly on only three of the above in light of the current project, numbers 1,3, and 5 above.

In terms of language, Amharic will become the eventual language of delivery of the microteaching course. This however will provide some difficulty from the senior consultant who speaks only English!

An example of changes necessary due to cultural differences is obvious when one considers the first divergent questioning session based on the words art, tension, pressure, mercenary,etc. It is intended to dexplore more appropriate words with the appropriate ENI senior management, replacing the "Canadian" words with more appropriate ones such as nutrition, Kwashiorkor, ingera, health, and disease.

The relationship of video to microteaching is the focus of a Development Communication Report (1979) which explores the potential of technology and microteaching for developing nations, while a similar report of a workshop in Bahia (1971) explores the technological asymmetry in which hardware development preceeds software development. At last two papers explore the issue of hardware availability for developing countries. Lawless in Malawi(1971) reports on the use of peer observation techniques in lieu of videotapes, while Culling (1976) reports an experiment using audiotape when video resources are limited. The intent is to develop a program for ENi which can run with or without the video equipment.

THE NEXT STEPS

The program development is moving into its next stages. What has been completed to date is as follows:

1. Initial needs assessement
2. Initial orientation of ENI to reflective teaching (Nazareth Ethiopia, May 1985)
3. Initial exposure to University of Manitoba microteaching program.

(Winnipeg, May 1986)

4. Collection of a data base of relevant literature.

The program is projected to procede in the following stages:

1. Triangulation procedures to confirm needs. Unstructured interviews with the two heads of ENI training department, coupled with self-reporting techniques will be used.
2. Development of outline of program
3. Examination of tranferability of program to ENI.
4. Tryout to be conducted in May 1987, Addis Ababa.
5. Evaluation of tryout. May 1987.
6. Revision and full scale implementation and/or program discontinuance, depending upon tryout results and program effectivness.
7. Continued monitoring of program.
8. Reporting of success/failure of project in approriate educational technology journals.

THE LAST WORD

It is necessary to conclude by re-iterating that the entire project described here is based on the premise...we hope founded in analysis... that PROCESS is equally important as CONTENT in the development and delivery of training programs. While this project represents a specific case study, the broader question remains: will a PROCESS focus result in improved instructional communications? Ultimately, it is hoped that this study will provide evidence that the directions proposed here will make a difference, whether in the training offices of large multinational companies in the west, or in the villages of Ethiopia.

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LEARNING MUTUAL HELPING, GROUP AND CITIZEN PARTICIPATION : PRELIMINARY RESULTS OF A DEMONSTRATION PROJECT

Alice Home, Ph.D.
Lise Darveau-Fournier, M.S.S. *

High risk communities present a persistant challenge to adult educators and other professionals. Adults living in these areas have strong needs to learn new competencies and acquire confidence, both as individuals and as citizens of a community. In an era of budgetary restraint, however, governments are reluctant to commit scarce resources to innovative preventive programmes, despite evidence that traditional intervention tends to fail in such communities (Rothman, 1980; McIntyre & Lawler, 1980).

One response to this dilemma has been the use of demonstration projects designed to develop innovative services while monitoring their impact (Rothman, 1980; Suchman, 1967). This paper presents some preliminary results of one such project, which focuses on developing and evaluating a short-term foster care service for families experiencing temporary stress in a high-risk community.

An overview of the theoretical and methodological framework of the project is presented first, as a backdrop for the main focus of this paper : the use of groups as a means of promoting learning by community families. Two groups will be presented, including preliminary data on their goals, programmes, process and results. Some initial data regarding learning needs of a third group will be discussed briefly. The paper will end with some questions and implications for adult educators.

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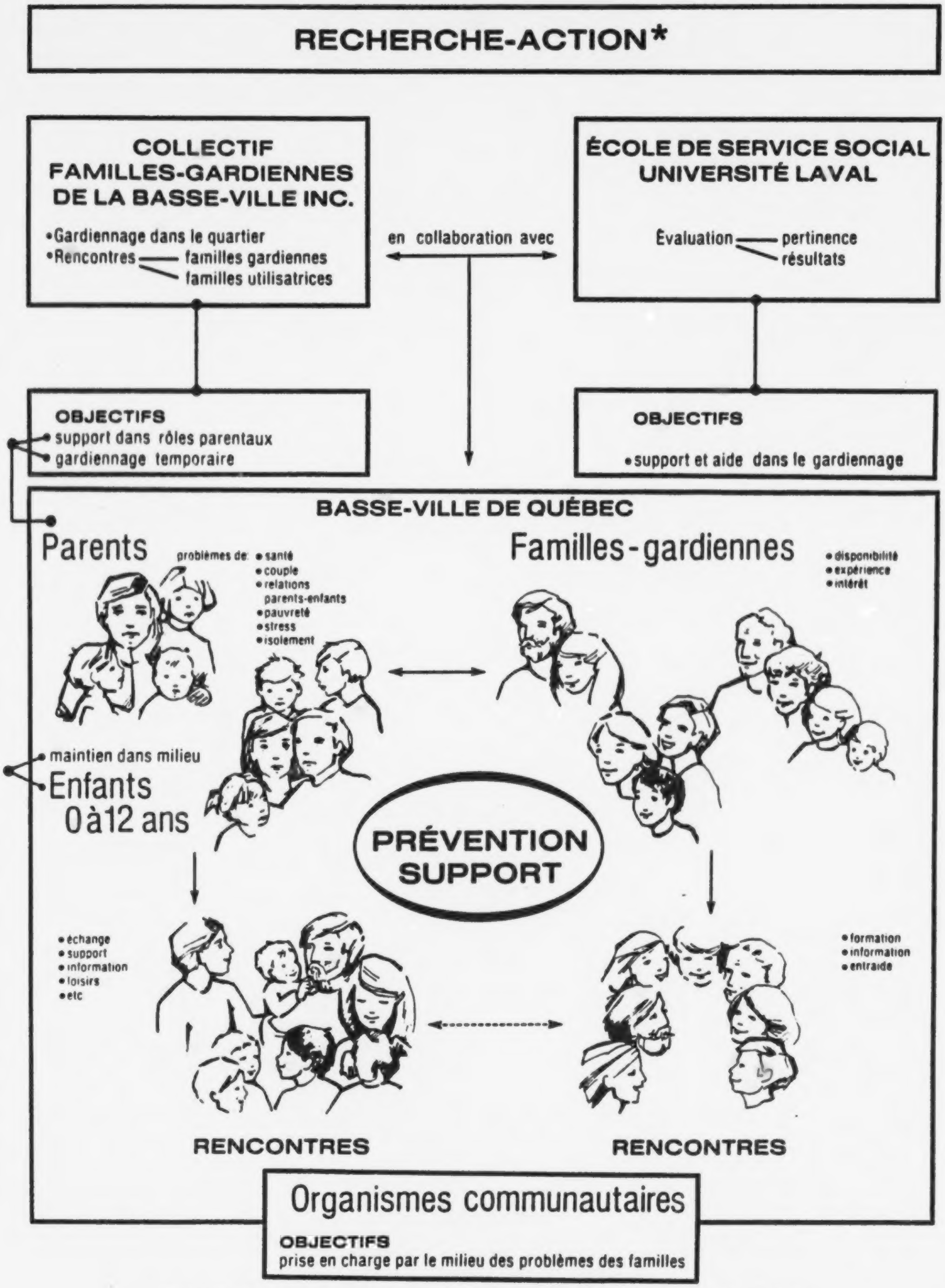
LE GARDIENNAGE À COURT-TERME: UN SERVICE DE SUPPORT ET D'ENTRAIDE POUR LES FAMILLES DE LA BASSE-VILLE DE QUÉBEC



RECHERCHE-ACTION*

COLLECTIF FAMILLES-GARDIENNES DE LA BASSE-VILLE INC.

- Gardiennage dans le quartier
- Rencontres — familles gardiennes — familles utilisatrices

en collaboration avec

ÉCOLE DE SERVICE SOCIAL UNIVERSITÉ LAVAL

Évaluation — pertinence — résultats

OBJECTIFS

- support dans rôles parentaux
- gardiennage temporaire

OBJECTIFS

- support et aide dans le gardiennage

BASSE-VILLE DE QUÉBEC

Parents

problèmes de:
- santé
- couple
- relations parents-enfants
- pauvreté
- stress
- isolement

Familles-gardiennes

- disponibilité
- expérience
- intérêt

- maintien dans milieu

Enfants 0 à 12 ans

PRÉVENTION SUPPORT

- échange
- support
- information
- loisirs
- etc

- formation
- information
- entraide

RENCONTRES

RENCONTRES

Organismes communautaires

OBJECTIFS

prise en charge par le milieu des problèmes des familles

*Projet d'une durée de 3 ans (1984-87) subventionné par Santé et Bien-être social Canada

Theoretical and Methodological Backdrop

Modern society makes heavy demands on parents, but little support is available due to the weakening of extended family and community networks. Even parents with adequate resources sometimes feel overwhelmed by this combination of high stress and low support. Some parents in low-income communities, however, experience near intolerable levels of stress. These communities often lack functional helping networks, and parents are not able to afford scarce private services when they need help. It is not surprising, therefore, that families in these areas are at high risk of developing health and social problems (Garbarino and Sherman, 1980; Sandler, 1980).

Nor is it an easy matter for the community to respond to these families' needs. Local citizens may want to help but not know how, or they may lack the group experience or organizing skills needed to develop community resources. Adult education and group work theory suggest that groups can play an important role in helping adults learn these skills while acquiring the confidence needed to take on social responsibilities in their communities (Lewis, 1979; Klein, 1972; Dimock, 1976; Kidd, 1971).

In one high-risk community, local families teamed up with community workers to develop a short-term foster care service for local families experiencing temporary stress or needing a respite from constant care of young children. After an experimental period indicated the value of this service, a research team was asked to develop the theoretical framework, help clarify the goals and develop a plan for evaluating the project. In 1984, the families, now incorporated as a Collective, received a three-year demonstration project grant (Health and Welfare Canada).

The research team based its work on an adapted version of the research and development model, combined with an action-research perspective. Research and development involves pilot testing an innovative programme in a limited area, while collecting data both on the procedures used and on their impact (Rothman, 1980; Suchman, 1967). Action-research emphasizes process as much as product, and includes built-in feedback mechanisms such that formative evaluation can influence ongoing action. The researcher is not expected to be "objective"; on the contrary s/he becomes involved in the project, through a collaborative relationship with those in charge of the action (Stinson, 1978). This particular project can be classified in the formative action-research category, which is based on "... a belief in the need for social innovation, to explore and discover new ways to approach problems which have not been dealt with effectively by more structured institutions" (Stinson, 1978, p. 11).

The Action Component

This project, therefore, involves two interrelated aspects : an action component under the direction of the Collective and an evaluation component for which the research team is responsible. The action component consists of group services and the foster-care service. The latter is offered for periods ranging from 2 days to 2 weeks to families with children under 13, who are facing temporary stress. It is hoped that the provision of accessible, affordable child care may enable families to cope more effectively, thereby averting family breakdown (Bellamy & Shookner, 1980). At the same time, the children are able to remain in the local community where they can continue their normal school and leisure activities, hopefully avoiding unnecessary long-term foster care elsewhere.

This short-term relief is supported by group services designed to meet longer-term needs of a variety of community families. The Collective is the community task group in charge of administering the project, organizing the "action" component and dealing with any child-care problem situations that may arise. The second group is composed of care-giving families who seek to increase satisfaction and skills in their new role. Their group is designed to promote mutual support while providing training in this special type of parenting role. A third group planned for care-receiving families has only just begun. It is hoped that this group will reduce isolation, provide an opportunity to talk about difficult family situations and to develop resources for recreation, mutual helping and learning.

The Research Component

The research component involves several aspects : evaluating the relevance of the programme to local needs, monitoring the way in which the programme is carried out as well as its effect on the target groups. The first aspect being evaluated is the relevance of the programme. This involves comparing data collected on the characteristics and needs of families using the child-care service with the initial needs assessment done by local workers before the project began.

The second research aspect is concerned with the content of the various programmes and services as well as the way in which they are being carried out. Data are being collected, for example, on the number and characteristics of families using and offering the child-care service, as well as on the content and process of group meetings. Several instruments are being used to collect this data, including those developed to take applications from care-givers and care-receivers, and group observation guides. In keeping with formative evaluation principles, this aspect of the research is designed to clarify the relationship between specific programme components and outcomes (Rutman, 1982).

The research team is evaluating the effect of the project on four target groups : on the care-giving and care-receiving families, on the children and on the community. A group observation guide is being used along with a questionnaire to assess the effect of group meetings on care-giving families, while a pre and post-test questionnaire will measure their effect on care-receiving families. The latter are being interviewed as well, to verify the extent to which the foster-care service responded to their expressed needs. In addition, they are being asked about any changes in their ways of coping with everyday family life, in their social networks or in their children's behaviour. The extent to which the children remained involved with their normal community contacts and activities during foster care is another aspect being monitored. Finally, the researchers will evaluate the short-term impact of the project on the community, by collecting data on the extent to which community organizations are aware of the project and prepared to co-operate in its continuity beyond the demonstration period. Table 1 presents a summary of the project, highlighting the main action and research aspects related to each target group.

TABLE 1

SUMMARY OF SHORT-TERM COMMUNITY
FOSTER CARE ACTION RESEARCH PROJECT

TARGET GROUP	NEEDS	RESPONSE	EVALUATION
Parents with young (0-12) children	- Support in crisis - Reduce isolation	- Short-term foster care (2-15 days) - Group sessions for sharing, support, information	- Verify extent service helpful in transitional crisis or temporary incapacity - Verify extent group met needs
Children aged 0-12	- Stay in community during family crisis	- Local foster care, stay in neighbourhood, school	- Verify their reactions to care, contacts kept up in community, and behavior changes
Foster-families	- Support and training in role	- Group meetings for support and learning	- Verify extent meetings provided support, information and promoted learning
Community	- Strengthen networks - Strengthen community capacity to respond to needs	- Increasing participation of local families in managing service - Opportunity to reflect on needs, service offered, new responses	- Verify impact of service on involved families'networks - Verify impact on community resources & their commitment to supporting families

The Group Services : Description and Organization

As discussed in the previous section, this demonstration project attempts to go beyond temporary stress relief to effect longer term changes of a preventive and community change nature. Three groups are used as the major means of promoting these changes. In this section, each group will be described in order to highlight group goals, composition and organization. This will serve as background for a presentation of learning needs, programme and some preliminary learning results, to be discussed in relation to adult education and social group work theory.

The three groups include the Collective, care-giver and care-receiver groups. The Collective includes four women living in the local community, who are themselves mothers of children ranging in age from newborns to young adults. Two have been members since the beginning of the project (1982), while the other two replaced original members who left the group.

The care-giver group is composed of ten women, with similar characteristics to those in the Collective, who were accredited as care-givers. The Collective use several criteria for accreditation, including two which are learning-related : personal as well as interpersonal capacities and motivation. Care-giving families are expected to demonstrate their motivation to learn and to participate as well as to give care to children. It is for this reason that after a recent evaluation revealed that only 70% of families had participated in the 17 meetings held so far, the Collective decided to make attendance mandatory.

The care-receiving families, however, are not required to attend meetings though they are encouraged to come. It is too early to describe these groups, which consist of 8-10 members grouped by neighbourhood in order to facilitate network-building. However, a general picture of the overall population does emerge from the preliminary data. Thirty-five out of the 110 families who have used the service since 1984 have attended at least one meeting. Nearly 80% of the care-receiving families are single mothers, and 87% are under 35 years old with one or two children. Over half have pre-school aged children, and 92% live on government support. They correspond closely to the portrait of high-risk, low-income families which the project sought to reach.

Table 2 summarizes the goals and organization of these three types of groups. It can be seen that while the Collective is primarily responsible for the administration and organization of the day-to-day action, members also seek mutual support. Although this group is a "task group", personal needs of the members are not forgotten (Lewis, 1983; Home, 1983). Members usually attend all meetings as does a community worker; a research team member is often present as well. Care-giving families combine group goals of mutual support and sharing around their child care experiences, with goals of learning more about their special parenting role. As care-receiving families have not yet decided on specific group goals, table 2 describes only the general goals planned in the project.

TABLE 2

SUMMARY: GOALS AND ORGANIZATION OF GROUP SERVICES

	THE COLLECTIVE	CARE-GIVING FAMILIES	CARE-RECEIVING FAMILIES
GROUP GOALS	- problem-solving around child care situations - administration of project - organization of the "Action" component (including planning group services)	- sharing (ideas, concerns, experiences, resources) - support & mutual help - information & learning around substitute parenting	- sharing (ideas experiences, concerns, resources) - information & learning about parenting - mutual helping - reducing isolation - recreation
ORGANIZATION OF GROUP MEETINGS	- meets weekly or more often for 3½ hours - has been meeting over 2 year period - group includes 4 members, 1 community worker, 1 researcher and the coordinator - chaired by the president of the Collective	- meets monthly for 2 hours - has had 17 meetings since december 1984 - group includes 10 care-giving families - led by a member of the collective	- to be determined - 2 groups have each met twice (once with care-givers) - 4 groups of 8-10 care-receiving families, grouped by neighbourhood - led by 2 collective members

Learning Needs, Programme and Results

These groups were planned by their members and workers, without reference to any particular theoretical perspective. The researchers, however, see connections with both adult education and social group work principles which will be highlighted in this section. It should be noted that group workers and adult educators share a common heritage, in which informal education and recreation were viewed as ways to promote individual learning, social development and citizen participation (Lindeman, cited in Knowles, 1976, p. 60; Coyle, 1948). Both worked in settings such as Y's, neighbourhood and settlement houses, as "... the community has been the setting, not the individual classroom nor the institution" (Kidd, 1971, p. 137).

In keeping with both theoretical perspectives, none of these groups has a formal pre-determined programme. The programme emerges from the learning needs of each group, as "... the starting point in program planning is always the adults' interests" (Knowles, 1976, p. 79). This stands out in sharp contrast to the role of programme in structured education groups, which use a prescribed programme to help members achieve teacher-determined goals (Papell & Rothman, 1980).

Table 3 summarizes the learning needs of each group, which have been translated in varying degrees into programme. While the care-receiving group has so far only expressed their needs via a questionnaire, the other two groups have both worked on some of the themes listed. In all three groups, however, two programme planning principles of adult education are clearly reflected. The first is that "... programs should focus on practical material which is relevant to the current or future concerns of the learner", while the second suggests that learning problem-solving is facilitated "... when the learner works on his own problems and develops his own solution" (Brundage & MacKeracher, 1980, p. 109 ~~et~~ and p. 103).

TABLE 3

LEARNING NEEDS OF THE GROUPS

THE COLLECTIVE	CARE-GIVING FAMILIES	CARE-RECEIVING FAMILIES
- planning & chairing meetings - task & leadership sharing - writing minutes & reports - negotiating with government agencies - working with community organizations	- dealing with behaviour problems (eg. Aggression) and child abuse situations - coping with care-receiving families ideas about child rearing - learning more about child development between birth and age 6	- reducing isolation (making friends, organizing outings) - learning from each other new ways of coping with & relating to children (practical suggestions) - learning in an accepting and non directive group climate

The emerging programme reflects the practical, immediate concerns and needs of these adults, who are seeking to become more confident and competent in their respective roles. Collective members are attempting to increase their organizational and leadership skills, while care-givers want to develop their natural helping abilities as they learn more about child development and about coping with specific child care problems.

Both adult education and group work emphasize the importance of using programme media adapted to the learning styles of members and to the characteristics of their groups (Home & Darveau-Fournier, 1980; Brundage & MacKeracher, 1980). In both the groups which have begun their programmes, the principle of learning through doing is a common theme. In the Collective in particular, programme flows from on-the-job learning while administering the project, chairing meetings and dealing with problems which arise. Reflecting on their actions, past and present, leads to new learning.

Another important programme planning principle relates to developing a group climate which is supportive of the learner and free from threat (Brundage & MacKeracher, 1980). The Collective has taken great care in creating an accepting climate in both the care-giver and care-receiver groups, such that each member's contribution is valued. A number of creative programme activities have been used to promote an informal and accepting climate, such as Christmas and summer parties to which care-givers, care-receivers and even researchers and workers are invited. Early questionnaire results with the care-giver group suggest that these measures have succeeded quite well. Over 80% of the care-givers who attended group meetings felt that their opinions were accepted, and most felt comfortable enough to discuss their child care problems in the group.

A final comment regarding learning needs and programme relates to the importance of reducing obstacles to learning which often face adults who assume a variety of other roles in addition to that of learner. For these adults, attending group meetings is not an easy matter due to obstacles such as family schedules, child care and transportation. The Collective members, who have had to cope with similar constraints in their own lives, have attempted to reduce the impact of these factors on group attendance. A child care service is available while care-givers and care-receivers attend meetings, and meeting times have been adapted to the school timetable to facilitate attendance.

The Role of Professionals : Developing Autonomy

Both group work and adult education view the professional role as that of a facilitator or resource-person, rather than an expert who takes on all the leadership tasks. Knowles (1976, p. 34), for example, describes the adult educator as a "... helper, guide, encourager, consultant and resource", while Shulman (1979) and Shapiro (1977) see the group worker primarily as a facilitator of mutual helping amongst members. A major social group work principle is to increase group autonomy, both through using increasingly challenging programme and through gradually decreasing professional responsibility for leadership (Home & Darveau-Fournier, 1980). In adult citizen groups, the primary role is that of enabler, facilitator or resource-person (Home, 1985; Lewis, 1983).

Knowles (1976, p. 60) holds that "Shared learning is duplicated by shared authority... authority is of the group". Although the degree of leadership sharing must be adapted to the initial autonomy of each group (Lang, 1972), there is a growing preoccupation with sharing power and tasks in this project. This takes place on several levels : between professionals and members as well as between the Collective and the other groups. The latter, however, will be discussed elsewhere in the paper.

Both the workers and the researchers see themselves as only one of the learning/helping resources available to group members. While they have taken on some initial leadership in planning early group meetings, the professionals have tried to involve members in ongoing programme planning and evaluation. Although the community workers are often obliged to take on a therapeutic role in individual work with care-receivers, they have been careful to assume a more nondirective, consultant role in their work with the Collective. They support Collective members as the latter learn to plan and lead group meetings for the families. In a similar vein, the research team helps Collective members learn more effective ways of working together, while being careful not to impose their ideas as this might threaten group autonomy (Home, 1983).

Some Learning Effects of the Groups

Preliminary data have demonstrated that some learning has been effected in both the care-giver and Collective groups, as illustrated in Table 4. The care-givers have used their group meetings to reflect, not only on their ways of relating to children, but also on their relationships with care-receiving families. A difficult learning task has been finding an appropriate balance between being natural helpers for care-receivers and avoiding creating dependency. An important accomplishment in this group is that the care-givers are learning to identify and mobilize their own problem-solving resources. In a recent meeting, for example, the members decided to explore their own experiences and skills before turning to an outside resource-person. This increased confidence in, and use of, group resources is an important indicator of the growing autonomy which was an implicit intervention goal.

TABLE 4

SOME LEARNING EFFECTS

THE COLLECTIVE	CARE-GIVING FAMILIES
- some leadership skills acquired - increased sharing of duties both within the collective and between it and the care-giver group - greater use of resources within the group - more systematic ways of working together (for example, using criteria for evaluation)	- some increased relationship skills with children and with care-receiving families - new group participation skills - learned how to evaluate group meetings - learning to mobilize their own group resources rather than depend on outside resource people

A major area of learning for the Collective has been group leadership and task sharing. One illustration is the recent changeover in care-giver group leadership from professionals to the Collective. One Collective member transferred her learning as a group participant to her new role as group leader. She is now able to prepare an agenda and to ensure the group respects it, while permitting members to interact and participate. Her leadership style has changed as well. While her early efforts were characterized by her suggesting solutions to problems raised, she has learned to wait until group members share their ideas before intervening. It is likely that she acquired her new facilitative style at least partially through observing the role modelled by the professional in her own group.

Learning to share leadership has been an important but difficult task for Collective members. Initially, two of them tended to take on almost all duties. While this is a frequent phenomenon with new indigenous community leaders, it can be risky both because of potential burnout and because the group can fall apart if the leaders leave (Home, 1983). Women, and particularly those from working-class backgrounds, tend to feel they should always give to others (Home, 1983). This project asks them to replace doing for others by progressive task sharing with care-givers and care-receivers so that the project comes under wider community control.

The Collective members are showing signs of increased task-sharing, not only among themselves, but also with the care-givers. A sign of this change is a recent Collective decision to turn over the responsibility of filling out the request for child care form to the care-giver families. The task of completing this form is done in an interview with care-receivers; therefore, it may contribute to decreasing the latters' isolation by strengthening ties with care-givers.

The project also makes demands on both the care-givers and care-receivers. Care-givers are expected to go beyond providing child care; they are asked to develop and use natural helping skills in their relationships with care-receivers. The latter are expected to do more to consume services. Despite their difficult life situations, they are being asked to enter into new networks and to work with others towards improving both their parenting situations and skills.

Both adult educators and group workers believe in developing peoples' strengths rather than focusing on their problems, as high expectations coupled with strong support encourage people to grow and learn. However, these are not changes which can be made quickly, especially as they require rethinking of past experiences and altering well-established ways of working. Adult education theory points to the vast importance of allowing adults to learn at their own pace, in order to permit time for reflecting on past experience and integrating new learning (Brundage & MacKeracher, 1980, p. 108). In this project, this has meant allowing plenty of time for group members to try out new attitudes and behaviours inside and outside the group, to evaluate and discuss the results before going on to further changes (Home & Darveau-Fournier, 1980, p. 24).

Conclusions, Implications and Questions

This paper has presented a demonstration project which has ambitious goals in terms of promoting learning amongst families in a high-risk community. Preliminary data suggest that learning is indeed going on, although it is not yet fully integrated nor is it completed.

Some of the most important learning has been done by the researcher / educators, who have come to understand how important it is to respect the seemingly slow pace of community change. As Kidd (1971, p. 137) points out "For many important kinds of social change, we must have a time plan that goes far beyond a single year and may last five or ten". This has not only meant that the researchers have had to learn to be patient, but also that they have to act as mediators between the Collective and government agencies. This mediating role can involve defending the slow steady pace of change in an era where quick, inexpensive results are demanded.

Related to mediation has been the need to learn to interpret research language to citizens so that the latter can participate effectively in decision-making. Interpretation of material written by the Collective into the more academic terms required by granting bodies has been another new role for the authors.

The researchers have learned the real, practical meaning of certain values such as respecting community participation and promoting autonomy. In practice, this has meant learning to accept priorities established by community groups which may differ from those they would have chosen.

The mutual learning in this action-research project has not always been easy or painless. However, it is hoped that the long-term effects on the community, the workers and the researchers will make the work worthwhile for all involved.

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Women's Groups as an Example of the Roots in Defining Adult Education

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Because adult education practices are so embedded in social life we cannot proceed in any research without a definition. Therefore we begin with what we have -- the UNESCO definition:

> The entire body of organized educational processes, whatever the content, level, method, whether formal or otherwise, whether they prolong or replace initial education in schools, colleges and universities as well as in apprenticeship, whereby persons regarded as adult by the society to which they belong develop their abilities, enrich their knowledge, improve their technical or professional qualifications or turn them in a new direction and bring about changes in their attitudes or behaviour in the twofold perspective of full personal development and participation in a balanced and independent social, economic and cultural development. (1)

What this does is impose and constrain *a priori* what adult education practices are. Instead it would be preferable to proceed from the ground up in an inductive-deductive fashion -- that is from the definition to the research and from the research to the definition. Research into past practices of anglophone women's groups in the Eastern Townships of Quebec in the late nineteenth century has revealed that rural women were engaged in and exceeded the activities prescribed in the UNESCO definition as early as the 1870's.

Contrary to the images, implied in the general histories, of congenial self-sacrificing rural women, mutely complacent in their isolation, loneliness and poverty, women grouped together to impart knowledge among themselves and their communities.(2)

A brief look at the living conditions in the Eastern Townships of Quebec in the nineteenth century will convey a variety of reasons that compelled women to organize themselves. The Eastern Townships are composed of Missisquoi, Brome, Shefford, Richmond, Sherbrooke, Stanstead and Compton counties. There had been some settlement of the Townships by Americans in the early years of the century. Immigration continued and by 1831 there were 37,000 inhabitants of whom close to 90% were anglophone.(3) Few of these immigrants, however, could establish themselves in their new land. Roughly 75% were without capital and a large portion of the land in the townships (850,000) acres had been granted to the British American Land Company. It was available only at a price that these "paupers" from Britain could not afford. As a result, the immigrants tended to settle in Montreal and Quebec City and become wage earners. The few who did receive land were left to fend for themselves in the Townships where farming was subsistant, growing into an industry only very slowly. It wasn't until the early twentieth century that dairy farming expanded to become profitable business for Eastern Township farmers.(4)

In light of the above facts, combined with the revelations of pioneer life in eastern Canada in such renowned sources as Susannah Moodie's Roughing It in the Bush and Catherine Parr Traill's accounts, four fundamental reasons why women grouped together can be identified. The first is the response to poverty. In both urban and rural settings the threat of poverty was omnipresent to the majority. These families arrived in the country with no money or possessions, needing at least a year for the selling of the first harvest to accumulate capital. Beginning in the churches, women's benevolent groups and mission groups actively sought ways to relieve and stifle poverty. The second reason was to preserve the family. Survival of this unit was threatened in the frontier situation where poverty, illness and death might claim members or where sons and husbands might be lost to far away lumber, mining or city jobs in order to feed their families. As a typical farmer's wife commented around 1898: "Oh there was land, farming land even, and lots of it. But friends of the government owned it -- miles and miles of farmland that no one could farm. So our brothers and sisters went to the United States to work."(5) Thirdly, women felt it their duty to preserve religious values, beliefs and practices. In many rural areas a church and often a minister were lacking. The women's groups provided Bible reading and prayer as well as lectures to fill in for the absence of ordained representatives.(6) Finally, in order to preserve the values of Christianity effectively, women saw the need to teach literacy. It was absolutely essential for the ideals, values and mores of Christianity were written in the Bible which one must read in order to gain Christian wisdom. Although this was the main aim of literacy teaching and often the Bible the only reading material available, the benefits of literacy were further reaching. While the men were busy in the fields the women learned the three 'R's and thus became in charge of correspondence and bookkeepng for the farm.(7)

Rather than inhibitors, poverty, isolation and loneliness were the motivators for rural women to embark on paths of self-improvement that would extend to family, community and ultimately to social reform through the means of social interaction. In the late nineteenth century women interacted in the ways they knew how, through service and religion. Rather than perceiving their role in the home as a limitation, their interpretation of the domestic ideal of womanhood was a dynamic one. Historians have tended to view this ideal as restrictive but as Wendy Mitchison argues in her analysis of one women's group, the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the groups's significance as a percursor for the experience of other women's groups is enormous. "It exposed the importance of the domestic ideal and Christian duty for women in the nineteenth century and demonstrated how Canadian women were able to use what some historians have seen as restrictive concepts to extend and exert their power in society."(8)

Women's institutions emerged in this period that served many important needs. Roman Catholic women joined religious orders or founded new ones in order to engage in social work. Protestant women founded charitable or benevolent organizations and organized the women in their churches into Ladies' Auxiliaries or Mission Societies. These women turned to organized benevolence and religion because both seemed more efficient and more just than individual efforts in a world where "massive migration, epidemics, urban growth and violent fluctuations of a fragile and expanding capitalist economy were the order of the day and often the cause of terrible hardship."(9) Salient to the importance of the social work these organizations performed is the provision of opportunities for leadership, association and sisterhood for the women who created and joined these religious and benevolent societies.

The two most prevalent groups that have been chosen as examples of women's adult educational activities that had a heavy impact on the communities of the Eastern Townships of Quebec are the WCTU and the Women's Institutes (WI).

The Women's Christian Temperance Union

One of the first local branches of the WCTU was formed in Lennoxville in 1878. Early in the history of Lennoxville two licensed hotels were established. Temperance sentiment arose in the community and the WCTU pledged to discourage the sale and use of alcoholic liquors. Meanwhile other communities of Sherbrooke, Huntingville and Spring Road formed unions. Later two unions of Compton County joined the Sherbrooke union. Not content with merely teaching the dangers of alcoholism, the organization was on the watch for an opportunity to strike a blow at the traffic itself. It was the County council who had power to refuse the granting of licenses within its jurisdiction. The WCTU kept careful watch on the personnel of this Council until the time came when a majority would be against the granting of licenses. In due time a bylaw was framed. However, the offical whose duty it was to promulgate the proposed by-law did not take the matter seriously and neglected to notify the proper parties. When the WCTU got wind of this, the executive promptly employed a lawyer and took the matter to court, Mrs. G.G. McCurdy, County President, in the role of Plaintiff. On the day of the trial the "wets" went about rejoicing when it was heard that the County President was quarantined for diptheria and could not appear in court. The case went on as scheduled and it was the other side who came out rejoicing when judgement was given in favour of the Temperance Party.(10)

The first Annual Meeting of the WCTU for the province of Quebec took place at Stanstead Plain, Stanstead County, October 7,8 and 9th, 1884. At that first meeting were set out the Constitution, By Laws and Plan of Work for the Union. One has only to peruse these goals and objectives to realize the educational scope and intent of these women motivated by the threat to family and community life that alcohol was imposing. Stated in the preamble to the First Annual Report: "We the women of the Province of Quebec, deeply sensible of the increasing evils, alarmed at the tendencies and dangers of, and commiserating the misery caused by intemperance, believe that it has become our duty under the Providence of God to unite our efforts for its extinction." In 1884 nine departments were established including Scientific Instruction, Hygiene, Evangelical or Bible Study and Social -- from the teaching of housework and cookery to improve the home life of poor families to parlour meetings of readings and discussion. Only three years later, twenty departments were created with proposals for an additional four, each concerned with reaching a specific group of society with specific teaching.

Not only did the WCTU gather together to disseminate knowledge but the organization was comprised of officers, department heads, committee heads and delegates so that participation in any office was an educational experience in itself. Skills such as bookkeeping, public speaking, writing, group animation would be learned and taught through participation in the activities of the organization. It was the public nature of these activities that made participation a valuable and educational experience for women. One must bear in mind that the WCTU was formed at a time when women were not accustomed and often not allowed to speak publicly. Indeed the notion of "woman's sphere" was a controversial issue. Any woman who transgressed from the home to the public sphere was asking for ridicule and chastisement, especially from the male population.(11) The WCTU formed a wholly female society in which members were comfortable and in which their efforts were recognized. Their belief that "a woman was to be admired for what she did herself and not for her husband or family connections" provided confidence and a feeling of unity and devotion to one another and their leaders.(12)

Most important was this women's group's conception of themselves as educators. In the works of the American leader Frances E. Willard, first president of the National WCTU entitled Women and Temperance (1884) we find reference to "trained intellect", "how to prepare Bible readings", "WCTU training school", "philosophy of our plan of work", "how to organize and conduct a public meeting" as well as clear recognition of women as leaders in society in charge of improving the quality of life for all.

These concepts were brought to Canada by Letitia Yeomans of Ontario and incorporated into the activities of the Canadian branches. At the local level, the unions provided a forum, whether in a church basement or farm house, for women to develop friendships, self-confidence, to learn to read, to learn values and skills of good home-making, to learn how to cope with and combat the evils of intemperate and secular life, thus preserving the family and community through new knowledge and improved methods. Participation enabled the learning of practical skills from housework to public work increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of women in the home and the community. In the Eastern Townships the work of the WCTU permeated society at all levels. A petition to enfranchise women rate payers (widows and spinsters) went to the government while fund raising was undertaken to establish a women's reformatory prison and industrial home for criminals. Scientific instruction and textbooks about the physical effects of alcohol were introduced into the schools, libraries formed and a policy to secure appointment of women on charity boards established.(13) By "teaching" temperance the women reached out to themselves and others through a variety of educational media including lectures, leaflets and books, not the least of which was a systematic reading course and study program for members.

It must be emphasized here that the educational practices of the WCTU were integral to the reform thrust of the organization. The WCTU advocated the adjustment of society to create an atmosphere of intemperance for the individual. In this way the group contrasts with other reform groups that sought to adjust the individual to the norms of society.(14) The WCTU was concerned with the effects of intemperance on society and the way in which inebriate individuals hurt innocent people such as wives and children and undermined the strength of society. Beginning in the 1870's, with activities such as lectures, petitions and plebiscites, to educate members of society through moral suasion, by the 1880s the WCTU, faced with government intransigence, embarked on a political campaign that became a major force in the struggle for women's suffrage in Canada.(15)

The Women's Institute

The conception and organization of the Women's Institute (WI) in Canada is attributed to Adelaide Hoodless, a farmer's wife in Ontario who lost her child from insufficient knowledge of nutrition and health. While the Farmer's Institutes, agricultural fairs and colleges had begun in the 1870s and 80s to provide farmers with training and updating of farming techniques, rural women were being bypassed in what was, essentially, the transformation of Canadian agriculture during the latter half of the nineteenth century.(16) Although rural women were important co-partners in farming operations, they were excluded from colleges, unions and fairs aimed at educating the men. After the loss of her child, Adelaide Hoodless took up the cause of Home Economics advocating establishment of curriculum and training schools in order to improve the knowledge and productivity of women in their traditional farm activities.(17)

On January 13, 1911 in Brome County, Dunham Township, Quebec, Mrs. Elizabeth Beach called a meeting to see about organizing an institute for the area. The first meeting of that institute was held on January 27, when Mrs. Muldrew from Macdonald Agricultural College, the widow of the former Dean of the Agricultural College at Guelph, Ontario, came to speak to the ladies. Mrs. Muldrew quoted the aims of the WI as follows:

> "The dissemination of knowledge relating to domestic economy, including household agriculture, with special attention to home sanitation, a better understanding of the economic and hygienic value of foods, clothing and fuel and more scientific knowledge of the care and training of children with a view to raising the general standard of health and morale of our people. The carrying on of any line of work which has for its object the uplifting of the home or betterment of conditions surrouding rural life."(18)

Mrs. Beach set about this task by establishing branches in six surrouding areas and in the following year, 1912, became the President of the County Branch. In 1914 at the home of the Dean of Macdonald College, Mrs. Beach and ladies from other branches drew up the Constitution of what was then called the Quebec Homemakers' Clubs, the name changing to Women's Institute in 1920 to conform to the other provinces. The motto "For Home and Country" bespeaks the scope of the WI's aims. Beginning with education of individuals, the WI sought to raise the rural family's standards of living, nationally and internationally. (19) The stated aims serve as clear indications of the poor living conditions in which rural women existed and of hardships that provoked the formulation of these aims. The members of the

WI concentrated on knowledge enrichment that would lend itself to the reform of the quality of rural life. Meetings were held in the Townships where handicrafts were taught or cooking lessons conducted, lectures on a variety of topics were given by members or invited speakers, prayer and Bible readings invariably completing the gatherings. The WI offered its acquisitions of knowledge to the community by way of benevolence, fund raising for such causes as hospitals or new farm equipment and sponsored school fairs, welfare projects and homemaking workshops.(20)

It is easy to tract the similarities between the WI and the WCTU. Indeed many women were members of both groups and combined home improvement with efforts against interperance. The difference between the two groups may be found in their interpretation of the rural situation where for the WCTU intemperance was the cause of "evil", while for the WI it was a symptom brought on by poor living standards and lack of education on how to improve those standards. The groups also differed in their interpretation of their target population. The WI was an indigenous rural group, formed by rural women and aimed at the education of these women as a response to their specific living conditions and quality of life. The WCTU held a more global concept that deliberately induced unions to be established in both urban and rural areas where any members of society seemed to be lacking in temperance education and Christian values.

Conclusion

These women's groups were voluntary associations that did not only subscribe to education as a means of promoting individual enlightenment but were the precursors of rural social movements that subscribed to education as a means of social change.(21) The WCTU and the WI perceived education as a means to social reform, in comparison with such male groups as the Farmers' Institutes, who promoted education as a means for technical development. Excluded from the mainstream, women defined for themselves what they needed to learn, how to learn it and for what purposes.

The terms articulated in the UNESCO definition of "balanced social, economic and cultural development" imply that education is a means of meeting and maintaining the status quo. Research into rural women's activities indicate the women educated themselves in order to generate reform. For them the status quo meant poverty, ill health and endless hardship.

In their works, feminists have reiterated the necessity to review and rewrite history from a feminine perspective, that is, including the work of women in history as important, influential, generative and regenerative.(22) This paper emphasizes the need to not only re-examine women's history but also the received definition of adult education. The work of two women's groups active in rural anglophone Quebec at the turn of the centry substantiates this view.

Notes

1. Faure, E. et al. Learning to Be: The World of Education, Today and Tomorrow. Paris : UNESCO, 1972

2. The Corrective Collective. Never Done. Three Centuries of Women's Work in Canada. Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974. The authors facetiously point out the lack of reference to women in the histories except for phrases such as "the women and children were left at the fort" or "drowned in the river".

3. Caldwell, Gary and Eric Waddell. The English of Quebec. From Majority to Minority Status. IQRCQ, 1982.

4. For further Primary descriptions of rural living conditions in the townships see: Channell, L.S. History of Compton County; and Sketches of the Eastern Townships, District of St.Francis and Sherbrooke County. Cookshire : L.S. Channell, 1896., Day, C.M. History of the Eastern Townships. Montreal : John Lovell and Sons, 1869., and Taylor, Rev. Earnest H. History of Brome County Quebec from the Date of Grants of Land Therein to the Present Time, Vol.1. Montreal : John Lovell and Sons, 1908., as well as collections of accounts, diaries and compiled histories located in the Eastern Townships Historical Society, Brome County Historical Society, Richmond County Historical Society, Lennoxville Historical Society, Missisquoi Historical Society and Bishops University Special Collections.

5. The Corrective Collective, op.cit., p.105.

6. Interview with Mrs. Gwen Parker, past president of the Lennoxville Women's Institute at her home in North Hatley, Quebec, August, 1985.

7. The Corrective Collective, op.cit., p.105.

8. Mitchison, Wendy. "The WCTU: 'For God, Home and Native Land': A Study in 19th Century Feminism" in Kealey, Linda, ed. A Not So Unreasonable Claim, Women and Reform in Canada. Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1979, p.167.

9. Light, Beth and Alison Prentice, eds. Pioneer and Gentle Women of British North America, 1713-1867. Toronto : New Hogtown Press, 1981, p.8.
See also: Women of Canada: Their Life and Work. Ottawa : National Council of Women in Canada (NCWC), 1900.

10. A Brief History of Women's Organizations in Lennoxville. Compiled by Jane C. Pearson, ed. Wendy Lessard. Lennoxville, 1974.

11. Sedgewick, Robert. "Women's Sphere", 1856 in Women's Proper Sphere: Women's Place in Canadian Society. ed. Ramsey Cook and Wendy Mitchison, Toronto, 1976.
See also: Ossoli, Margaret Fuller. Women in the Nineteenth Century and Kindred Papers Relating to the Sphere, Conditions and Duties of Women. Boston, 1862.

12. Mitchison, op.cit.

13. Report of the First Annual Meeting of the WCTU of the Province of Quebec, Stanstead Plain, October 1884. Montreal, 1885.

14. Mitchison, op.cit.

15. Ibid.

16. Crawley, Terry. Adelaide Hoodless. Founder of Women's Institutes? A Research Note. Department of History, University of Guelph, April, 1985. For traditional and interpretive analyses of Adelaide Hoodless' role in the WI and its works, see Crawley, Ibid, bibliography.

17. Ibid.

18. Q.W.I. Pioneers, 1911-1981. WI of Quebec, 1981, p.12.

19. Pearson and Lossard, op.cit.

20. Ibid. Also interview with Mrs. Gwen Parker, op.cit. For more information on Quebec Women's Institutes, complete holdings are in the Q.W.I. headquarters at Macdonald College, McGill University. Also History of Lennoxville Women's Institute, 1914-1964, Quebec Women's Institute, 1964.

21. Faris, Ron. The Passionate Educators. Toronto : Peter Martin Associates Ltd.,1975.

22. Prentice, Alison and Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, eds. Introduction The Neglected Majority; Essays in Canadian Women's History. Vol.2. Toronto : McClelland Stewart, 1985.

Van Kirk, Sylvia. "What Has Feminist Perspective Done for Canadian History" in Knowledge Reconsidered; A Feminist Overview. Ottawa : Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women.

THE ROLE OF ADULT EDUCATION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL AMONG BLACK NOVA SCOTIANS BETWEEN 1750 AND 1945: A SOCIAL HISTORY

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Introduction

The historiography of adult education of early black Nova Scotians, from the perspective of their social history is, for the most part, a study of their struggles for survival. Britain's enthusiastic war strategies in the United States and Jamaica, between the late 1700s and early 1800s, included the migratory movement of thousands of Blacks to Nova Scotia from those countries. This war policy for run-away slaves did not, however, always meet with the approval of colonial Nova Scotian society. The presence of a vast contingent of freed blacks in a colony that permitted the institution of slavery was both a contradiction of societal practice and a threat to white supremacy.

Consequently, the government legislated that all free black immigrants be settled in isolated, segregated enclaves throughout the colony. Needless to say those early blacks were regarded by white Nova Scotians as social "outcasts" and therefore, were not accorded equal citizenship which would have guaranteed civil rights as well as social, religious, political and economic privileges, as were white immigrants. The black population was faced with an enigmatic situation. On the one hand, they were made to believe that they were free and equal with whites, while on the other, they were precluded from freedom and equality. In actuality, blacks were doomed to another devastating form of slavery, that of socio-economic deprivation.

Given the social historical reality of the black Nova Scotian experience, this paper proposes that adult education served a two-fold purpose for blacks between 1750 and 1945. First, it ensured the survivability of the black race. Second, while it preserved life and predicted social change, it paradoxically prohibited any form of strong and active protest against the society that systematically and subtly prolonged the slavery of blacks in Nova Scotia.

The literature reveals that most early blacks were not proferred, by government or recognized agency, any type of formal education. Thus they were forced to employ the limited knowledge, skills and trades acquired during slavery to ensure, at least, a measure of economic viability. In addition, they were beset by the generally unfavourable climactic conditions, the uncertainty of the colony's economic stability and the prevalent Darwinistic ideology which propagated the inferiority of the black race to the superiority of the white (Lyman:1972).

It is noteworthy that through informal and ~~in~~nonformal adult education, the knowledge early blacks acquired in bondage was assiduously transmitted, in most cases with little change, to successive generations for almost two hundred years. The responsibility for "educating" the black adult populace, during the period under study, had always been that of the few black leaders within institutions in the black community.

This paper attempts to review the historical role of adult education through the configurations of education which existed among the black adult population between 1750 and 1945.

Configurations of Adult Education: A Suggested Theory

There is a noteable absence in the developing historiography of Canadian adult education, of the historical role played by adult education among racial minority subordinate groups (ie blacks). Equally conspicuous is the non-existence of a theoretical framework w in which the educational history of those groups may be examined. In terms of the research at hand, a theoretical approach which is conscious of the unique history of the educational approach of indigenous black Nova Scotians is warranted.

Among the few theoretical approaches,employed by researchers in their investigations of the adult education of blacks in North America, is Knowles theory of needs in adult education. (Knowles:1970). In his theory, Knowles proposes that there are three sources of needs which should be met for success in adult education program development. Succinctly stated, they are individual goals and needs, institutional goals and needs and societal goals and needs. In the case of black adult Nova Scotians, any attempt to pursue the satisfaction of their individual, institutional and community needs was systematically thwarted by the dominant society. Thus it was almost impossible for those needs to be satisfactorily fulfilled so that the adult education practices by blacks were solely for survival, not for the advancement of the race.

Another theoretical approach which addresses the educational problem of oppressed people is the concept of conscientization as purported by Paulo Friere. The term "conscientization" in this context refers to oppressed adults learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions and then taking action against the oppressive elements of reality. According to Freire, if adult education does not raise the levels of consciousness of oppressed people and develop strategies for overcoming the oppressor then it is useless. This concept of conscientization for black Nova Scotian adult education was appropriate, but not allowed to germinate in the black community. Black adult education catered for passive acceptance of the dictates of the dominant society instead of open protest or confrontation which could have led to social change.(Walker:1980).

Although no single theoretical approach can fully explain the adult educational experience of those early blacks, the theory of configurations of education, as proposed by Laurence Cremin (1970) for a study of the social history of American education, will suffice for examining the phenomenon under investigation. Cremin's definition of education as the "deliberate, systematic and sustained effort to transmit, evoke and acquire knowledge, attitudes, values, skills or sensibilities as well as any outcomes of that effort" (Cremin:1977,p.134), direct or indirect, intended or unintended, allows for the kinds of adult education practices, the methods of administration and the transmission of the same as was formed in the black community.

The configurations of education approach makes several demands on the researcher of the social history of education. First, it calls for an objective analytical examination of the social history for the development of an educational historiography.

As Cremin warns us, the value of educational history will be considerably diminished if the attempt is not made to critically examine the education of the past. There is an urgent need in the black community for such work to be done. Second, the approach demands that the investigation of the educational experience of a group be an honest historical interpretation without underestimation of the efforts made by the group in their administration of education of whatever type. Third, the configurations of education approach broadens the meaning of education, thus making a strong case for the inclusion of all social institutions as educative agencies. Fourth, this approach recognizes alternative configurations of education as found only among the black group in North America. Finally, the configurations of education approach is capable of revealing the social factors which contributed to the suppression of racial subordinate groups in the American society. (Cremin:1970;1975;1980).

A) Black Nova Scotian Adult Education From Slavery to Emancipation - 1833

Cremin's theory of configurations of education supports the claim made by several black historians that adult education for black North Americans began with slavery. (Genovese:1974; Holmes:1965; McGee: 1971; Curlee: 1922). Cremin claims that for the Afro Americans slavery itself became a vast system of education, or one might better term it miseducation, deliberately designed to convey values, shape attitudes and direct behaviour. (Cremin:1980). Slavery, therefore, consolidated the idea of black inferiority to whites and thus procured the socio-economic advancement of the "superior" ruling master class in the North American milieu.

In his analysis of the educational history of North Americans, Cremin states that early blacks were social "outcasts" in the American ambience and were therefore deprived of social privileges and civil rights, formal education being one of the most important privileges. However, those black outcasts created alternative oppositions and at times residual forms of cultural values and practices (William:1977) relying almost exclusively on adult education for providing survival techniques. This educational divergence Cremin calls "discordant education" by which he meant "an education in which at least two conflicting configurations of education sought to inculcate in the same individual(s) quite different attitudes via different pedagogies." (Cremin:1980,p.243). The black slaves' alternative configurations of education included the quarter-community, households, clandestine religious gatherings, peer groups and kinship network. These all transmitted an "eclectic culture of black folklore, agricultural, and artisan skills, a version of Christianity and the remembered experience of accommodation and protest." (Cremin:1977,p.67).

For most early black Nova Scotians their experience of slavery took place in the United States, Jamaica and Nova Scotia. As slaves, they were legally governed by the Black Code and the whims of individual slave masters. Any attempt by a black slave to acquire formal education was met, in many instances, with severe punishment, occasionally even death. McGee argues that the adult education that was designed for early African blacks may have begun when they were taught about their new and strange environment. (McGee:1971). On the slave plantations, black adults (and children) were trained in the skills and manners required for the proper fulfillment of their peculiar tasks. They were nurtured in the attitude of perfect submission, the goal being absolute obedience and subordination to the white "superior" race. According to Cremin, the whip and the bible served as the most important pedagogical instruments in instructing blacks in the white version of their place in the North American society. (Cremin:1980). Where religious knowledge was allowed, blacks were taught the false idea that they were created an inferior race, thus were brainwashed to accept as normal an inherent racial inferiority to most other races. Although slavery in Nova Scotia was not as physically gruelling as in the United States and Jamaica, their servitude was no less severe.

From the point of view of the Nova Scotian slave owners, the configurations of adult education for their slaves included the big house, the slaves' living quarters, the fields or other types of workplaces and the white church (when permitted). But as was stated earlier in this study, the black slaves generated for themselves alternative survival strategies through non-formal and informal adult education thus forming their own configurations of education similar to that stated previously.

B. The Black Loyalist and Adult Education: 1776-1792

The arrival of the first group of freed black immigrants to Nova Scotia in 1782 was generated by the American Revolution of 1776-1783. One of the strategic war measures employed by Britain against the rebels in the British-American colonies was that of offering guaranteed freedom to the slaves of rebel slave owners. Those slaves were proferred not only freedom, but also military training and an opportunity to fight their oppressors. Over 300 able-bodied black men responded immediately to the freedom call made by the British officers. Those black recruits were instructed in military training for service as buglers, musicians, spies, scouts and servants. Their segregated troop of black loyalists, under the banner of "The Ethiopian Regiment" served faithfully with the British army throughout the war. (Walker:1980).

It is interesting to note that black recruits were not taken from among the slaves of the white loyalists. The motive of the British army was not to emancipate the blacks and therefore end slavery, but to use them as an economic backlash for quelling their rebellious North American colonies. The blacks, on the other hand, saw the British stratagem as an occasion to honourably fight for freedom, justice and equality for themselves and their race. Britain's loss of her southern North American colonies at the end of the war in 1783, could have meant the return of blacks to slavery. Instead, Britain expatriated over 3500 black Loyalist veterans and their families to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. (Winks:1980).

The literature reveals that most black loyalists who came to Nova Scotia were given the assurance that they would receive lands, justice, formal education and equality with their white counterparts. However, the Nova Scotian white society was not prepared to accept those newly freed blacks as equal citizens. Consequently, they were legally settled in segregated and isolated communities in Shelburne, Digby, Annapolis, North Preston and Guysborough, on small portions of unproductive land. (Clairmont & Magill:1970). They were then given a little aid and left to survive by themselves. For the Nova Scotian government, the blacks were "out of sight" and therefore, "out of mind."

For a limited period, those early blacks were able to utilize their skills, trades and knowledge acquired in the British army and the slave plantations to eke out a livelihood. However, the unfavourable social ambience and the inclement weather did not foster their newly won freedom and independence and, as a result, they suffered great hardship. When their crops failed in 1789 they were faced with no alternative, but to hire themselves out as domestic servants, farm hands and other forms of exploitive menial labour. In a few cases, blacks sold themselves back into slavery to avert death.

On the other hand, the white loyalists who were also threatened with famine, were at liberty to emigrate to more prosperous British colonies or to return to England. The aggravated economic situation in the colony at large, drastically increased the unemployment in the black community and their competition with poor whites for menial jobs. In addition to their adverse poverty, blacks were now experiencing racial intolerance, religious persecution and militant oppression from the upper, middle and unemployed lower class whites. The country which they had hoped would be the promised land of freedom, justice and equality for all, was as binding, unjust and unequal as their former slave plantation. In actuality, blacks were experiencing socio-economic slavery which, in many instances, was as cruel as their former state.

A British military traveller's description of the black segregated settlement of Birchtown, in 1790, supports the evidence of the severity of their physical and environmental degradation. He stated thus:

> The place is beyond description, wretched, situated on the coast in the middle of barren rocks, and partly surrounded by thick impregnable wood. Their huts are miserable to guard against even the inclemency of a Nova Scotia winter .... I never saw wretchedness and poverty so strongly perceptible in the garb and countenance of the human species as in these miserable outcasts. I cannot say I was sorry to quit so miserable a dwelling.
>
> (Grant:1980,p.10)

These miserable "social outcasts" in a white Nova Scotian society were left with no choice but to secretly protest their destitution. Thomas Peters, a black community leader, travelled to England, under constant harassement from the ship's captain, on behalf of his people to present their case to the British Parliament. Britain responded by financing the emigration of approximately 1,200 blacks to a British controlled African colony, Sierra Leone. They left Nova Scotia in search of freedom, justice and equality. Walker comments that those black loyalists, who for one reason or another, did not emigrate to Sierra Leone soon found they were a "decapitated" community without the black leaders who had also been their teachers (Walker:1980). Consequently, adult education was at an ebb in the almost deserted black community.

C) The Adult Education of the Jamaican Maroons: 1796-1799

The second significant group of black migrants to arrive in Nova Scotia came from Jamaica in 1796. They were the Maroons, so called because they were militant runaway slaves who had lived in the wooded mountains of the island. The events which led to their expulsion were entirely divorced from Nova Scotian history. For many decades they had terrorized the lives and property of white British slave owners through guerilla warfare (Grant:1973). After several unsuccessful attempts, the white British government in Jamaica finally conquered the Maroons and subdued their attacks by employing superior military forces from Cuba. Subsequently, the Maroons were banished from Jamaica to exile in Nova Scotia. On their arrival in the province they were promptly segregated from the general populace and settled in North Preston. However, unlike the black loyalists, the Maroons were admired and feared by the Nova Scotian society for their militancy and manly character. As a result, the group was trained and employed in the construction of the Citadel Hill fortifications (Tulloch: 1974). Moreover, they were also offered formal schooling and religious instruction by the provincial government. Whether they accepted these offers is not clearly demonstrated in the historical records of that period.

On the completion of the Citadel Hill fortifications, the Maroons were encouraged to become agriculturalists in order to ensure a continuous supply of fresh garden produce for the colonists. The Maroons resented the idea of becoming gardeners and insisted they were soldiers not passive gardeners. They requested that they be sent to a country which was not only warmer, but was also in need of military assistance. When the severe winters of 1797 and 1798 further exacerbated their discomfort and triggered their short tempers, it was decided that the only resource left to the Nova Scotian government was to effect their emigration to Sierra Leone. In 1799 most of the Maroons were shipped to the British African colony in time to assist in quelling a rebellion of the Sierra Leones against the British colonists.

The military orientation of the Maroons figured strongly in their configurations of education which were comprised of their military unit, working places and, of lesser importance, their school. It is interesting to note that the informal adult education given to the Maroons for the construction of the Citadel Hill fortifications has resulted in a historical landmark in Nova Scotia.

D) Adult Education Among the Refugees of 1812-1945

The migration of black refugees from the United States to Nova Scotia, during the war of 1812, followed a pattern similar to the former groups of blacks, but with three significant differences. First the refugee group is historically important because their settlement in Nova Scotia became permanent. They are, to a large extent, the predecessors of the present indigenous black Nova Scotians. Second, the black refugees were apolitical as compared to the more assertive black loyalists and the aggressive Maroons. Third, the earlier group of blacks were allowed to own small parcels of land, but these refugees were permitted only legal squatting on government lands.

The first shipment of black refugees to arrive in Nova Scotia was actually welcomed by the white society because they filled the great need for cheap labour created by the departure of the black loyalists and the Maroons in 1800. That this welcome was quickly exhausted was clearly displayed with the arrival of a second group of black refugees to the province. The Nova Scotian government hastily drew up their first immigration law to keep "people of colour" out of Nova Scotia (and Canada). These laws came into effect in 1815 and were tenaciously enforced until the 1970's when they were partially lifted after much political pressure was brought to bear on the Canadian government.

The fear of blacks challenging white dominancy and sharing social and economic equality led the whites to resort to social control mechanisms in the form of racial discrimination, prejudice and social rejection. The black refugees were also assigned to segregated settlements which were, in most cases, geographically distanced from the white communities. Settlements such as Preston, Hammonds Plains and Beechville were located on the outskirts of the cities and beyond the white residential limits. This geographic distance ensure that there would be limited physical and social interaction between blacks and other races.

One of the demoralizing effects of the education that black adults received in slavery was its derogatory association to "black servitude." The white Nova Scotian society capitalized on this fact and, as a result, any formal education which could have suggested black equality with whites was legally denied. Nevertheless, a few blacks were fortunate to receive a basic type of religious education which was sponsored by philanthropic religious organizations (ie. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Lands - S.P.G.). The primary concern of those religious organizations was the "souls" of the poor blacks. (Mensah:1978). The objectives being the improvement of their morals, submissive characters and meek contentedness with their position in society, thus maintaining the status quo.

This form of religious educational benevolent program served more as a conditioning process for social control than as a solution to the educational and economic needs of the blacks. According to Fingard, "the most extreme example of the attitude that the poor must be trained to accept their station in life prevailed in the case of the blacks, who were regarded in purely socio-economic terms as the most poverty stricken and most permanent of the poor." (Fingard: 1976,p.33).

There was no mistake that the dominant white Nova Scotian society regarded the black refugees as racially inferior. socially intolerable, educationally inadequate and economically incapable and, therefore, not fit for citizenship.

The only means of survival for those poor wretched blacks was the utilization and perpetuation, through oral tradition, of the skills, trades, values and knowledge they had acquired in slavery through informal and non-formal adult education. The transmission of that learning to subsequent generations guaranteed the continuance of the black race in Nova Scotia. It is worth emphasizing that their incessant struggle for survival was concomitant with their hope for the freedom to be equally educated and socially accepted as respectable citizens of the Nova Scotian society.

Up to this point in history (mid 1830s), the configurations of black adult education had changed little. However, to meet the needs of the black population, the refugee group was obligated to create essential social institutions similar, at least in name, to those found in the white community, thus making a slight change in their configurations of education. As early as 1854 an association of black churches was established and in 1856 the first branch of the Masonic Order was created. It was through the efforts of the black family, black church and, to a lesser degree, the black school and Masonic organizations, that adult education was provided for the black populace. As was to be expected the configurations of adult education in the black community overlapped as the institutions struggled to assist the people in their survival for life from the 1830s to 1940s.

Adult Education in the Black Family

The development of the black family in Nova Scotia had its beginnings in slavery. Undoubtedly, slavery did take its toll and left its mark on the black North American family. The slave tradition effectively retarded the normal growth of the family. Black families always had a white provider (ie. slave owner), with the socialization of black children being the responsibility of the black female, primarily due to the absence of the black father. Thus the notion of black males as provider never became a tradition in many black families. Second, the slave tradition and the dictates of poverty contributed not only to a self-reliant black female, but also to the significance of an extended family beyond the nuclear family setting. Black children and young adults were socialized to accept educational training, support and encouragement from other members of the black community besides their parents. They, therefore, developed intimate relationships with a broader set of people vis-a-vis white children and adults. Consequently, the black community played an important role in the rearing of black children and the training of adults in the values, norms, customs, skills and trades of the race. Naturally, their loyalties were extended not only to their biological parents, but also to the community as a whole. (Walker:1980).

This kinship network which existed in the black community was responsible for the education of individual members in all aspects of community life, (ie. social control, apprenticeship). Employable trades (ie. blacksmith, cooper, painters), artistic skills (ie. basket weaving, handicrafts) and basic adult literacy were taught by those in the church and community who had the expertise. In some cases this was done intergenerationally where children and younger adults taught their elders to read and write. (Hill:1981). Through those early educative practices the Nova Scotian black family was able to:(1) provide for themselves a meager existence; (2) sustain an emotional and social balance;

and (3) transmit black customs and culture to other generations. A documented example of the perpetuation of artistic skills, which also provided an economic base for the family, is that of basket weaving practised by the Clayton family, at Cherrybrooke in Dartmouth, for generations. Gordon discusses the fact that the women in this family have learned and taught the skills of that craft for centuries before slavery with their foremothers in Africa (Gordon:1971). Hamilton also explains further that this century-old tradition of basket weaving has continued among Nova Scotian black women because they take pride in learning and teaching the skill to other women in the home, the church and the community. (Hamilton:1982).

It is clear from the records that the black household was responsible for producing the food consumed, the clothing worn, the tools produced and the houses built in the black community. Oliver notes that marketable trades, skills and services such as carpentry, blacksmithing, basket weaving, domestic skills, tailoring, lumbering, caulking, boat making, chimney sweeping, gardening, rope making, dress, hat and shoe making and the making of wreaths and brooms were learned in the home, in groups, in the church and at the work place in the black and white communities. (Oliver:1949). The produce of their handicrafts and gardens together with their domestic services were offered for sale in the white community. While this activity engendered a social interaction between blacks and whites at a very simple level, it also formed a vital part of the economy of the black community. At the same time, it provided the white community with services that were not always available elsewhere. It is ironic that although the white community needed and fully utilized the services and produce furnished by the black community, they also perceived them as demeaning. Blacks were expected to perform these services because they belonged to the lowest socio-economic class whose function it was to supply those social amenities to the higher classes. This imbalanced symbolic socio-economic relationship supports Walker's claim that the exploitation of black labour was an essential element in the foundation of Nova Scotia and Canada. (Walker:1980).

The Black Nova Scotian Church and Adult Education

Traditionally, religion has played an important role in the life of black Nova Scotians. Denied the freedom to participate as equal in the religious ordinances of the white Protestant church, black Nova Scotians were driven to develop their own religious institutions as early as 1785. The black church, whether Baptist, Huntindonians or African Methodist Episcopal, became the landmark of every black community in Nova Scotia. Black ministers who were, in many cases, the most "educated" persons in the community, performed the roles of spiritual leaders, adult educators, liaison officers between the black and white communities, political informants and community social control officers. Those ministers were generally self-taught through on the job experiences and survived only by the trial and error method.

As was previously indicated, black ministers and their families were usually the only adult educators available to the populace. They were limited in the quality and quantity of knowledge they were able to proffer to members of the community. Sunday schools and other regular religious and secular meetings were the chief avenues used for teaching adults to read and write. In other planned gatherings, black adults were taught specifically how to communicate with the white society (ie. in seeking a job). The works of Pearleen Oliver, Williams, Clairmont & Magill, Hamilton, W.P. Oliver and others, enlighten us further about the traditional efforts of church leaders to "educate" their people to the best of their ability and knowledge.

According to Ferguson, there was one religious institution, outside the black community, which offered a few blacks a rudimentary religious education during this period in history. He states that in 1836 the British Anglican Church established an "African school" in Halifax where basic education for a small group of black children was provided. In the evenings, a class was convened for the "parents and servants who patiently and laudably persevered from the rudiments of learning to learning of the Bible." (Ferguson:1948,p.61). No evidence has yet come to light which shows that other efforts were made by the white community to assist black adults in obtaining a formal education.

According to Fingard, the stark reality of the results of the little religious and less secular education obtained by blacks were noted in 1834 by James Silk Buckingham, in his comments about blacks in Halifax. Fingard quotes Buckingham as saying, "the great number of them (blacks) appear to have made little or no improvement; their condition being poor, ignorant, dirty and insolent; while no pains seem to be taken, either by the government or by any benevolent society to elevate them by education and training above their present state." (Fingard:1973,p.33). It was approximately one hundred and ten years later (1945-46) that the provincial government proferred formal adult education to black Nova Scotians.

The Black School and Adult Education

Most of the social scientists who study the formal educational systems of any country, tend to agree that schools are microcosms of the larger social system. (Oliver:1949; Clairmont & Magill:1970; Wade:1972). Historical evidence reveals that the same held true for the early black school system in Nova Scotia. The few schools which existed in the black communities (1800s-1940s) reflected the low socio-economic status of the black population. When viewed from a provincial perspective, black schools were perceived by the white educational authority, as insignificant to the more important white schools.

It is an established fact, but worth repeating, that the black Nova Scotians' slave heritage, formal educational inadequacies economic deprivation, social rejection by the white society, and their political powerlessness dictated their educational history. The records show that few individual blacks among the early loyalists, Maroons and refugees were privileged to have received a rudimentary type of religious education. Formal education of any type was haphazardly provided, for it was dependent on the availability of the black or white missionary teacher, the locality and physical condition of the school and the resources of the missionary society. Another important factor was whether the black adults and children were sufficiently fed and clothed to make attending school a priority.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Lands (S.P.G.), the Rev. Dr. Bray and his associates and the local church of England saw it necessary to continue the education the slave masters had given blacks. They sought to instill in them their obedience to whites and other races. This is clearly delineated in the minutes of the S.P.G. (1798). It states in part:

> The case of the poor Negroes is truly piteous, many hundreds of which - adults and children - have been baptised... Mr. Bailey has endeavoured to promote obedience and industry among them.
>
> (PANS:1798-1800)

The purpose of religious education proferred to those few blacks who were in a position to accept it was re-emphasized by the associates of Rev. Dr. Bray's missionary society in a report of 1836. It states thus:

> The Negroes are to be properly instructed in the great principles of christianity and the great and necessary duties of obedience and fidelity to their (white) masters and humility and contentedness with their condition would be impressed on their minds.
>
> (PANS:1836)

At no period in their history were blacks allowed to forget their servitude or to aspire to educational heights similar to or equal with whites. In 1836 when the few Bray controlled schools were refurbished, they were renamed "African" schools and hence remained the charity project of the wealthy ladies of the Anglican church in Halifax. It is interesting to note that the monopoly on the limited religious education for blacks in Halifax was tightly guarded by the Anglican Church. Fingard states that for a short period in the 1820s, the Royal Acadian offered to all the poor, in the locality of the school regardless of colour or creed, an advanced secular education at the primary school level. It was an educational program which was aimed at upgrading skills and knowledge so as to increase the employment and educational opportunities for the blacks. However, Anglican church officials quickly moved to terminate black participation in this educational opportunity by closing down the school. (Fingard:1973).

It would appear that every attempt made by blacks to formally educate themselves beyond that provided by the white church (ie. writing, reading, simple arithmetic and catechism) was quickly stopped by white religious and political leaders. They were not allowed to change from being slaves by habit and education. (Walker:1980). Consequently, little change was evident among the blacks when the provincial government instituted the educational act which stated that, "all common schools shall be free to all students residing in the section to which they are established." (Pratt:1972,p.37). However, as Pratt claims, the 1865 Education Act which ushered in the era of free and compulsory primary education, also introduced the legally sanctioned discrimination in education against blacks. Separate departments under the same roof for students of different colours was the order of the day. In all cases, black schools were separated and different in the quality of the buildings, books, equipment and teaching from those of the whites. (Pratt:1972).

The legal introduction of separate and unequal education policies by the Provincial government were received with mixed feelings by the black community and produced varied reactions. Some blacks were willing to accept the decisions and policies of the Provincial government and condescended to the notion of inferiority to whites as being inevitable. Their acquiescence to servitude and passivity prevented any open confrontation to the societal injustice and inequality they were experiencing. On the other hand, a few brave blacks in Halifax dared to openly protest their dissatisfaction with the government. In 1884 the Provincial House of Assembly received two petitions from blacks who were displeased with the education whites allowed blacks. A paraphrase of these petitions presented to the legislative canal reads thus:

> A petition of George Davis and others, presented and read by Mr. Harrington, setting forth that they are coloured citizens and rate-payers of the City of Halifax that by the minutes of the Council of Public Instruction passed in December 1876, all coloured children were from thenceforth excluded from the Common schools and separate schools were established for their use, which are of an inferior grade, and in which they do not receive equal advantages with the children (White) attending the

> common schools; for which and other reasons as detailed in the petition, they pray that such minutes of the Council be repealed.
>
> (Journal of Nova Scotia Legislature:1884)
> (PANS)

In response to this unexpected reaction by the blacks, white legislators argued that laws were made for the benefit of the majority of the people, those being white. Also, white parents would withdraw their children if blacks were allowed in the white schools. They concluded that "laws were made for the greatest good of the greatest number, those being white," (Nova Scotia Legislature: 1884) (PANS). This gives some indication of the blatant racism that was projected towards blacks by the white society in regards to any attempt for educational advancement of blacks.

Another deadly blow to the introduction of formal education for blacks was delivered by the Compulsory Attendance Acts of 1883,1888,1895 and 1915. These Acts imposed an unconditional penalty of twenty dollars on the parents of children who did not or could not attend school. However, in most cases, blacks could not attend school because of their acute poverty and so were forced to pay the fine which not only increased their economic burden, but also decreased their hopes of ever remotely receiving any formal education.

Changes in the Provincial educational policies with regards to black children did occur in the first half of the twentieth century, but these effected no significant difference in their educational status. Black teachers who remained underpaid and poorly qualified, taught in generally dilapidated, segregated black schools. Attendance was irregular and often the schools were open only on an intermittent basis. For example, when the old school house in the Lincolnville area of Guysborough County burned down in the 1890s, it was not replaced until the 1930s. (Clairmont & Magill:1970). For black adults the situation was even worse than that of their children since neither government nor any other educational agency considered the need of formal education for blacks adults until 1945.

By the 1940s the black community was replete with negative attitudes towards the educational and school systems. Many blacks who attended predominantly white schools were discriminated against by white teachers while those who attended black schools received an intermittent substandard education vis-a-vis whites.Thus, few had hopes of ever attaining a degree from one of the many universities in the province. As Oliver notes, after almost two hundred years of the black presence in Nova Scotia, only three adult black Nova Scotians were privileged to graduate from a university in Nova Scotia in the 1940s. (Oliver:1949). It is easy to conclude that the cycle of poverty, ignorance and unemployment among black Nova Scotians had lasted too long. However, it should be noted that for them to have successfully overcome the racism, discrimination and rejection they had experienced from the white majority, and at the same time acquire educational standards required for socio-economic mobility, was impossible for the majority of blacks.

Black Nova Scotian Organizations and Adult Education

Aspirations for first class citizenship and socio-economic equality were always strong among early black Nova Scotians. But, as was stated earlier, their economic deprivation, political powerlessness and slave heritage were barriers to the fulfillment of their desire to be formally educated and hence economically and socially acceptable.

The acquisition of knowledge meant, for white citizens, the recognition of belonging to the middle or upper class, strong political possibilities, positive economic probabilities and all the fringe benefits that one received when educated by recognized adult organizations in the white community (ie. Halifax Mechanic Institute; King's; St. Marys and Dalhousie University).

For blacks, on the other hand, there were no recognized organizations to which they could become accepted participants. For them, ignorance meant more than poverty. It meant permanent servitude and subordination to white paternalism which encouraged widespread discrimination and social rejection as "undesirables." Therefore, formal education was viewed not only as a means of socio-economic mobility, but also as an opportunity to receive recognition of their very humanity.

Since black adults were denied access to an education through conventional means, they established Masonic organizations and other social groups as an alternative measure. As early as 1856 a Negro Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons came into existence. By 1890, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, the Loyal Order of Wilberforce and the Lodge of the Ancient Foresters were serving the mystical, psychological and social needs of black adults. (Oliver:1949). Those organizations not only performed supportive functions, but by their very existence acted as a safe haven through which skills, knowledge and social graces, observed while working in the white community, could be introduced, refined and acted out without scurrilous obstruction by members of the white community.

However, it soon became apparent that most of those were insufficient to make any dynamic impact on the white community and eventually many of these organizations disappeared.

Oliver found that historically no significant efforts were made by blacks to organize economic or political organizations in their own interest. (Oliver:1949). As a result, blacks remained economically marginal and politically powerless in the Nova Scotian society during the period under study. Their dependence on the white community for their livelihood rendered them vulnerable to economic exploitation and political manipulation by the dominant sector of the society. Walker notes that most black settlements (ie. Preston, Tracadie) had poverty built into their structures for they were neither capable of self-sufficient economic activity nor were they given access to remunerative activity in the white business community. (Walker:1980). The struggle for economic survival has always been a characteristic of the black experience in Nova Scotia, one reason being the lack of formal training. Adult education failed to secure the necessary educational programs for economic and political advancement among black Nova Scotians.

Summary

The historiography of adult education of early black Nova Scotians reveals that their configurations of adult education changed little between 1750 and 1945. It may therefore be concluded that the geographical segregation of blacks and whites coupled with racism and a slave heritage were responsible for the lack of educational advancement among blacks. The abilities and potential of blacks were disregarded by the decision-making group which caused blacks to be relegated to a service-labour category. In that economic position they were not expected or encouraged to acquire learning and were therefore condemned as educationally deprived and economically incapable. (Walker:1980).

It is interesting to observe from the data that historically, white Canadians were adamant in their belief that blacks could not be their equals because of the differences in skin colour, physical features and their legacy of slavery. Most whites insisted on perpetuating the slave image which depicted black adults as children and thus deprived them of the opportunity to excel as citizens. By placing severe limitations on any form of socio-economic or political advancement made by blacks, the white society successfully retarded the educational progress of blacks in Nova Scotia.

It could be postulated that the oppression and suppression experienced by blacks may have been the practice of only a few white bigots who did not reflect the Nova Scotian society in toto, however, Walker believes otherwise. He claims that such an interpretation would be erroneous since racism and colour prejudice, like slavery, did not exist in isolation from what the society-at-large regarded as legitimate. (Walker:1980).

This paper argued that the role of adult education in the black community did ensure the survivability of the black race as is evident in their unchanged configurations of adult education between 1750 and 1945. Yet it failed to facilitate or initiate social change in any meaningful way. It did not challenge the negative social mechanisms employed to maintain the status quo and prolong black servitude (ie. racism, colour prejudice) and it failed to vehemently question why blacks were not accorded civil rights, equality of educational opportunity and citizenship, as were whites.

The fact that knowledge acquired through adult education is a major element in social and economic mobility was generally ignored and thus blacks were unable to advance beyond their inherent standard of education for approximately two hundred years.

The answer to the black dilemma might have been found in politically organized affirmative action programs of adult education, but "Where there is no vision, the people perish."

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A CRITICAL REVIEW OF INTENSIVE SECOND LANGUAGE PROGRAMS FOR ADULT IMMIGRANTS

The acquisition of a new language is undoubtedly one of the major hurdles which the adult immigrant must face in adapting to a new society. Success in finding suitable employment, which is certainly the most critical task confronting the newcomer, is largely contingent upon his or her second language skills. Most Western governments have come to recognize that an immigrant's capacity to adapt to a new environment is to a great extent conditioned by employment opportunities which in turn depend upon a person's knowledge of the language of the land. The more recent influx of refugees from Third World countries has underscored the need to provide for sheltered settings in which these distressed adults might start learning the language of the host country as well as be provided with the appropriate cultural orientation. In Europe, North-America and Australia, various kinds of government-sponsored language programs have been funded for the avowed purpose of increasing the employability of immigrants and refugees and in the case of the United States, of helping them "attain self-sufficiency with relative speed" (Rubin, 1983).

Fostering the acquisition of near-native language skills by immigrants now seems to be regarded everywhere as a worthy societal goal to be pursued through the use of public funds. Surprisingly, there have been very few systematic evaluations of second language programs targeted toward an immigrant population. The reason for this seems to be an emphasis placed on instructional processes instead of on outcomes as well as the lack of appropriate assessment instruments according to Reder, Cohn, Arter and Nelson (1984) who recently conducted the most extensive study of these programs to date in the United States. The purpose of this paper is to review the little research there is on what happens to immigrants when they participate in these programs and especially when they exit, with a view to identifying the problematic areas from both the theoretical and practical perspectives. After presenting a brief description of second language programs for recent immigrants, the following points will be addressed: a) consequences of lack of proper language skills; b) variables associated with language proficiency; c) levels of language competence attained; d) program design and implementation; e) unresolved issues.

Second Language Programs for Immigrants

Historically, the immigrant individual, alone or with the help of the ethnic community to which he or she belonged, was left with the entire responsibility of finding language learning opportunities. Eventually immigrants, and later on refugees, were, according to various governmental occupational training programs in North America and Europe, entitled to some language instruction before entering the labor force. The main characteristic of these programs is that they are intensive; this term can refer to any course that involves learners in a structured learning situation for more than the otherwise normal one classroom period per day (Benseler and Schulz, 1979). In Québec, for instance, recently arrived immigrants may learn French six hours a day for a maximum of thirty weeks. During this period, they receive a small training allowance to cover living expenses.

Curricula for these programs can vary a great deal in their scope and specificity as well as in the range of instructional methods used. According to Reder, Cohn, Arter and Nelson (1984), "approaches ranging from the very traditional grammar-translation to the newer notional-functional methods" are being used across the nation to teach English to refugees. They add, however, that approximately half of all class time is spent on cultural orientation topics such as housing, health, consumer skills and employment seeking skills. In Québec, although the European structural approaches are still in widespread use, the most typical classroom tends to be eclectic, combining highly form-focused instruction with more functional approaches such as simulated real-life tasks. These programs, which were originally geared toward the better educated urbanized immigrant, had to undergo considerable adaptation when large groups of refugees with little previous education had to be instructed in the second language.

Consequences of Lack of Adequate Language Skills

The two main areas of difficulty for those immigrants having little knowledge of the language spoken in the host country are employment and health services, but in reality, the exercise of most citizens' rights may be restricted compared to the native speakers'.

In the case of the United States, it has been shown that competence in English is the most useful employment skill. Those without the required language skills "will find only entry-level jobs which provide no opportunity for language learning" (Tollefson, 1985). Obviously, lack of language learning opportunities will in turn act as an insurmountable barrier to a better employment status. Results from two separate studies in Québec indicate that at least for the years 1981 and 1982, unemployment rates ranged from 20 to 40% for the groups of refugees who were investigated (d'Anglejan, Painchaud and Renaud, 1984; Deschamps, 1985). Perhaps more significant is the fact that the jobs held by the Indochinese, Poles, Latin-Americans and others who did find employment were low-paying ones requiring minimal language proficiency. Although employers in the United States are reported to be favorable toward refugees as employees, "they identify insufficient language fluency as the underlying cause of most instances of failure to get along with fellow employees as well as of most work-related difficulties."(Tollefson, 1985)

Problems in accessing health services are not as well documented as those related to the labor market. Failures in communication are the source of many of the difficulties that refugees have with the health care system. A high proportion of the refugees' illnesses are not successfully diagnosed or treated. Tollefson (1985) cites a recent study by Faust (1982), which found "that more than half of what took place during visits to clinics was incomprehensible to refugees, that 40% of patients had no understanding of the diagnoses of their illnesses, 13% had only partial understanding and that 33% did not adhere at all to the prescribed medication."

It can also be argued that without a knowledge of the language-in -use within a society, the exercise of all other citizens' rights could be severally hampered. This is the position taken by TESL Canada (1981) in a policy paper where it is stated, among other things, that without a functional knowledge of English for all provinces in Canada except Québec where it would be French, an individual "is discriminated against on the job market". An individual without sufficient language fluency is "denied equal access to job training, retraining and upgrading" or to any government service for that matter.

The price one may have to pay for not having the proper language skills is very high indeed since it involves being excluded from the mainstream of society. For immigrants and refugees, competence in the second language if we are to accept Tollefson's (1985) opinion, "is by ar the most important pre-employment skill and the most important coping skill for cultural adaptation."

Relationship between Learner Characteristics Language Proficiency

In most countries, immigration policies act as a filter for the selection of the kinds of persons who, for whatever reasons, are considered acceptable as permanent residents. The application of strict selection criteria is suspended when a government decides to allow refugees to resettle in the country over which it has political control. In Canada and the United States, the more recent influx of refugees, mostly from Third World countries, has resulted in a larger number of individuals being admitted without the usual educational and occupational credentials. This situation has led, more than in the previous decades, to an acute awareness of the plight of the immigrant who did not seem to benefit much from second language instruction. For example, after 900 hours spent in a classroom trying to learn French, the slow learner, as he is often called, still experiences considerable difficulty in communicating in French. In Québec, it is estimated that 15 to 20% of the immigrants who participate in the intensive language program fall in this category.

Scholarly interest in the relationship between learner characteristics and second language learning is not new. Cognitive variables such as intelligence and aptitude were studied by Carroll as early as in 1962. However, there have been very few studies focusing on this relationship within the context of intensive language programs. One such research was carried out in Québec (d'Anglejan et Renaud, 1985) to explore the relative importance of a variety of extrinsic and intrinsic variables with respect to individual differences in achievement. In their evaluation study of English as a second language programs for refugees in the United States, Reder, Cohn, Arter and Nelson (1984) also examined the learner variables which were associated with higher levels of proficiency.

In the Québec study, 391 immigrants (225 females and 166 males) were tested. This represents all students entering the final weeks of the program during a three-month period. The results indicate that approximately 30% of the variance of the criterion variable, an achievement test used by the language school, is explained by the overall regression effect of the nine predictor variables. Only four of these emerge as significant predictors of FSL achievement when the interaction effect has been partialed out by the regression equation. The test of nonverbal reasoning (Raven's Progressive Matrices) predicts the greatest proportion (approximately 18%) of the variance. This is followed by years of schooling (4%), age (inversely related, 3%) and use of French (2%). The contribution of the other predictor variables is negligible. Subjects were subsequently divided into two groups (1) good learners and (2) poor learners. Results of this second analysis revealed that subjects who have more schooling, a higher degree of nonverbal reasoning ability, make greater use of French outside the classroom, are more competent in English, and display a greater degree of field independence in terms of cognitive style, were more able to benefit from formal second language instruction. Higher levels of illiteracy and anxiety in the classroom coupled with greater age were related to lower scores in FSL achievement (d'Anglejan and Renaud, 1985).

In the U.S. data (Reder, Cohn, Arter and Nelson, 1984), there were "many indications that refugees' characteristics profoundly influence their learning of English". The effects of education and age on eventual level of attainment were quite apparent. Among those with twelve or more years of education, 77% reported they had sufficient English skills to look for a job on their own at the time of the survey whereas this percentage was 6% for those who had had no previous education. In fact, previous educational experience was found to be the most important factor in learning English in the United States. Age was also found to be related to language acquisition as younger individuals tended to reach higher proficiency levels in less time than older persons. In addition, level of English proficiency at the time of entrance into the United States turned out to be a good predictor of eventual attainment.

Both sets of data predict that at one end of the continuum, an older illiterate immigrant is the person least likely to attain sufficient language skills for an independent job search whereas at the other end, a young refugee with a high school education would most probably manage to develop a functional knowledge of the language in a relatively short period of time. These findings have practical implications which will be addressed later on in the section on program design and implementation.

Levels of Proficiency

In a policy statement published in 1981 TESL Canada gave a definition of language learning sufficiency which is no less than near native fluency: "A newcomer may fairly be described as possessing a "sufficient" level of competence in English if he or she is able to compete on an equal basis with native speakers for employment comparable to that which he or she practised or received training in his/her country of origin." This is certainly a worthy goal to pursue but because research on the acquisition process in formal and natural environments is at best skimpy, expectations regarding proficiency levels which should be attained after a set number of hours of instruction remain imprecise. Moreover, considering the multitude of variables which have been shown to be related to successful language learning and the extreme variation in learner characteristics which may be found in any given group of immigrants, focusing on the level of competence in the second language attained by participants at the completion of instruction may be considered, with some justification, a rather poor indicator of the effectiveness of the program by those involved.

If we accept the fact there will be quite an important variation in outcomes, that is individuals subjected to an equal amount of instruction will reach different levels of proficiency, there are a number of pertinent questions to ask. These would include the level of proficiency which would be most conducive to increases in communicative competence in a natural environment, the stability, the increase or the decrease of proficiency over time taking into consideration the number of opportunities to use the language, the components of language ability showing increases or decreases, etc. A study was designed to explore various aspects of the communicative skills of immigrants participating in the 900-hour Government of Québec sponsored program. Two groups of immigrants, one comprising 36 subjects originating from Indochina and the second one, 46 subjects who came mostly from Poland and El Salvador were interviewed twice to assess their language proficiency in French. The first interview took place during the 27th or 28th week of language instruction while the second one was conducted six months later. These two interviews averaging thirty minutes in length were tape recorded and subsequently rated by two university educated raters according to the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) criteria. The FSI rating makes it possible to identify a subject's level of oral proficiency on a scale ranging from 0 to 5. The scale actually captures finer distinctions through the use of mid-points e.g. 0, 1, 1+, 2, 2+, 3, etc. While the scale provides a global measure of spoken language, the subjective evaluations are based on five weighted constituents of proficiency: accent, grammar, vocabulary, fluency and comprehension The main advantage of this test, beside its internal and external validity (Clark,1979; Palmer, 1981), is that the descriptions of the levels are very explicit as to the kind of competencies which should be demonstrated at each level. Level 2's description, labeled **Limited working proficiency**, reads as follows:

> **Able to satisfy routine social demands and limited work requirements. Can handle with confidence but not with facility most social situations including introductions and casual conversations about current events, as well as work, family, and auto-biographical information; can handle limited work requirements, needing help in handling any complications or difficulties; can get the gist of most conversations on non-technical subjects (i.e., topics which require no specialized knowledge) and has a speaking vocabulary sufficient to express himself simply with some circumlocutions; accent, though often faulty, is intelligble, can usually handle elementary constructions quite accurately but does not have thorough or confident control of the grammar.**

Results show that subjects belonging to cohort 1 were rated in almost equal proportions to be at levels 1 and 2 of the FSI scale. In functional terms, these data suggest that following thirty weeks of language training, 50% of these subjects - those whose ratings placed them at level 2 - have acquired the minimal knowledge of French necessary for limited functions in a work place setting. The other 50% - those rated level 1 - have a knowledge of French barely adequate to fulfill their personal needs.

This level is not considered adequate for the workplace. The pattern of results for cohort 2 is more diversified than that for cohort 1. Twenty percent of the subjects were rated at level 1, while the majority (80%) were at level 2. Fifteen percent of this group of learners had reached level 3 - a level considered adequate to participate "in most formal and informal conversations on practical, social and professional topics".

It was assumed that daily interactions with francophone native speakers at the workplace or elsewhere would represent informal learning conditions conducive to an improvement in proficiency. It was hypothesized that those benefiting from the greatest amount of opportunities to use French would show the largest gains in proficiency six months after exiting the language program. Therefore, the aim of the second series of evaluations was to specify the level of subjects" functional knowledge of French following a six-month interval. Results indicate that for cohort 1, the percentage of subjects at level 1 declined from 50% to 22.2% whereas those at level 2 increased from 50% to 77.8%. In the case of cohort 2, there was a decline from 20% to 11% in the number of subjects at level 1 and an increase from 15.6% to 24.4% in the number of subjects at level 3, the percentage remaining almost the same for level 2 subjects (from 64.4% to 64.5%).

The evaluation results of the first and second interviews show that the two groups of subjects increased their competency in French for the global ratings as well as the FSI levels. A closer examination of the data to determine the nature and the direction of the change which took place over the six month period revealed a trend of proficiency maintenance with regard to the FSI level attained at the end of instruction. For instance, 42% of the subjects comprising cohort 1 progressed by a half level (for example from 1+ to 2) during the six-month period, whereas nearly 53% showed no change and 5% actually regressed. Data for cohort 2 show similar patterns: 40% of subjects progressed, 58% remained at the same level and only one subject (2.2%) regressed. Since there were very few regressions and since progressions were registered for all half levels, predictions regarding the expected direction of change from each level can only be tentative. The data suggest that it is relatively easy for subjects to progress from level 1+ to 2 but to move from 2+ to 3 appears more difficult to achieve.

During the second interview, subjects were asked about the opportunities they had to speak French not only at the workplace, but also in other social settings. Few reported other than rare opportunities to use French with fellow workers or in any kind of social interaction. Some felt they had no other choice but to register for evening classes in an attempt to increase their communicative competence.

Finally, the scores of the two groups on the five FSI constituents (accent, grammar, vocabulary, fluency and comprehension) were compared to identify the changes which had occurred between the two interviews. It must be pointed out, however, that after completion of the 850-900 hours of French as a second language instruction, the average level of proficiency of the group comprised of Indochinese (cohort 1) was lower than that of group 2 where Poles and Salvadorians were in the majority. This initial difference between the two groups was maintained over the six-month period which elapsed between the two interviews; in other words, the gains in proficiency were equivalent for both cohorts after exiting the program, an unexpected finding. Multivariate comparisons of the means for the five constituents revealed a significant difference between the sets of ratings for interviews 1 and 2. The contribution of each sub-test to the between-test variance was not the same for the two groups. For cohort 1, the vocabulary constituent accounted for the greatest amount of variance between the two sets of interviews, whereas for cohort 2 the difference was accounted for by the comprehension, vocabulary and grammar constituents. Vocabulary, comprehension and accent contributed significantly to the between-group variance. From these results, it may be concluded that the comparison of the two cohorts with respect to the FSI constituents show significant differences especially with regard to vocabulary and comprehension which contribute both to the within- and between-group variances.

Going back to the questions posed at the beginning, the data from this piece of research do not pinpoint a critical proficiency level at which immigrants would profit more from a natural environment than from a formal one to improve their language skills. But as was shown to be the case with the subjects belonging to the second group, considering proficiency levels will remain the same for the majority and increase significantly for a smaller proportion of individuals, the higher the proficiency level when leaving the program the better for the persons concerned. When left on their own to find language learning opportunities, adult immigrants do not appear to be particularly capable of improving their communicative competence. The expected positive relationship between opportunities to use the language and level of proficiency could not be documented as the subjects of the research reported too few contacts with French-speaking natives for it to have any meaningful influence on proficiency from a statistical point of view. The situations in which recent immigrants find themselves involve little relationship with francophones except occasionally at work. Natural environments are rarely facilitating ones for adults learning a second language. However. and this is a significant finding, lack of interactions with native speakers does not represent a major impediment to small increments in proficiency. This may be due to the fact that almost all subjects reported watching television in French for a few hours every day to improve their knowledge of the language. Finally, and this has theoretical as well as practical implications, data analysis revealed that comprehension and vocabulary are two constituents of the FSI scale which differentiated the two groups of subjects.

Program Design and Implementation

When it comes to designing programs to facilitate second language learning by adults, there are a number of schools of thought one can subscribe to. Over the years, there have been so many proposals regarding effective approaches, methods and techniques for teaching second languages to adults that the field is currently characterized by a tremendous amount of eclectic pratices. Program design may in some cases be based on a thorough needs analysis of the prospective groups to be served whereas in other areas teaching still relies on commercially published materials whose target is a generally defined population of learners. To simplify a rather complex situation, a distinction will only be made between the traditional syllabuses and instructional processes whose best example is audio-lingualism and the newer ones which are usually referred to as communicative language teaching. Issues such as whether a content syllabus is preferable to a procedural one for the development of communicative competence in a second language are still debated (Beretta and Davies, 1985) as are the virtues of having a competency-based curriculum as opposed to a less structured one.

Although syllabuses designed especially for immigrants and refugees are available for the teaching of English (B.C. Ministry of Education, 1981; The California State Plan, 1982), no comparable document exists for the teaching of French in Québec or elsewhere. **Un Niveau-seuil** published under the auspices of the Council of Europe represents an interesting attempt to address French as a second language needs for adults but from an intuitive rather than from an empirical perspective. Unfortunately, it is limited to a list of language functions likely to occur in a selected range of situations. In 1985, the Québec Ministry responsible for language training programs for immigrants initiated a process of needs identification presumably for curriculum design purposes. The data was collected through group interviews with a number of public servants who had frequent contacts with immigrants in the course of their work, the language teachers involved in the program, program participants still in the process of learning French and past participants who had completed their language training within the preceding two years (Cardin, Duquette and Gilles, 1985). Unexpectedly, results confirm areas of content similar to that covered by the life-skills curriculum (filling in a form, applying for a job, making an appointment, reading a medication label, etc.). It will apparently take a while before these data can be translated into program goals and objectives and such a curriculum implemented because this will most likely represent a major break with current practices and will thus necessitate the full cooperation of administrators and teachers.

It goes without saying that the type of curriculum adopted within these kinds of programs is assumed to influence outcomes. In fact, Tollefson (1985) suggests that instead of a list of structures, curricula should provide tasks and activities that encourage communication at the students' own proficiency levels. Tasks which require listening and/or speaking in the second language such as following directions on a map, making simple objects and so on are believed to better facilitate the development of communicative competence than repeating and memorizing dialogues or participating in drills designed to elicit specific sentences. The less educated and older learners are expected to take more time to cover the same material than the younger ones with higher levels of schooling. The slow learners may find themselves with very poor language skills at the end of the program. Therefore, in an attempt to devise a learning situation more consonant with their characteristics, two experiments were conducted in Québec with immigrants who, according to the usual criteria, were given very little chance of reaching a functional knowledge of French. In the first one, simulations of simple communicative situations, real-life tasks such as cashing a cheque or making an appointment and authentic materials were used to provide language learning opportunities. The second experiment, conducted more than five years later, was based on a listening only approach during the initial weeks of language training where a series of tasks required a non-verbal response by the learners such as bodily movements or the manipulation of objects. At the end of both experiments, subjects' language proficiency was assessed through different kinds of tests and the scores were compared with those obtained by control groups. Overall, differences favored the experimental classes but the gains in proficiency were far from being spectacular and were somewhat disappointing considering the quality of the instructional resources available during the experiments. Since nothing similar was ever tried out with other groups of subjects, it is impossible to determine whether this type of design would be more effective in terms of the development of language competence than the more usual practices. Probably because of its effect on the amount of interaction opportunities that each learner can take advantage of, class size, according to Reder, Cohn, Arter and Nelson (1984), is a more powerful predictor of spontaneous speech than are either the students' background characteristics or proficiency level. This might imply that. for adult immigrants learning a second language. some instructional variables could indeed play a significant role in outcomes though this remains to be substantiated.

Finally, the conclusion is unequivocal, participation in second language programs by immigrants and refugees does contribute significantly to language acquisition. Employment per se does not lead to increased language proficiency, nor does simply spending time in the host country (Tollefson, 1985). These findings are not trivial as there are many, including second language researchers, who are strong advocates of learning a second language in a natural environment and who are quick to point out the limits of language learning within a classroom setting. What might be appropriate for a few exceptional individuals might turn out into too great a challenge for the vast majority who are faced with the task of learning a new language as adults. Fully one third of over 400 refugees interviewed in the United States stated that the classroom was the only place they regularly spoke English (Reder, Cohn, Arter and Nelson, 1984). The data collected in Québec also revealed a considerable amount of isolation among those interviewed. Without meaningful interaction, it is doubtful whether there can be any language learning to speak of.

Discussion and conclusion

What L'Express, a widely read weekly magazine in France, dramatically called "the white man's suicide" (L'Express, 1984), refers to the observed anemic birthrate in most Western countries and to its longterm effects. Fortunately, this expected decline in population will most probably be compensated for by immigration from other parts of the world. Refugees will thus continue to be admitted to North America for humanitarian reasons and immigrants selected according to other criteria despite occasional fluctuations in policies. Facilitating language and cultural adaptation will therefore remain a task for adult educators involved in various programs whether they be government-sponsored or not.

Learning a second language as an adult, though not by any means an impossible feat, is a very complex phenomenon. Research tends to indicate that success or failure depends on the interaction between learner characteristics and the kind of environment in which the individual will find himself. The appropriate match between learner characteristics and type of environment has not yet been completely specified.

For example, spending time in a country where the majority of the people speak a language other than one's own can result in native-like proficiency for some adults whereas others, in the same circumstances, will only manage to know a few words. This, of course, is the situation experienced by immigrants. None of the existing theories of language acquisition can fully account for the full range of variation in proficiency levels which is regularly found in intensive programs and elsewhere, including acquisition in a natural environment.

In addition, learner characteristics can never be attended to satisfactorily within a classroom setting because it is almost always too costly to control for all the known pertinent variables. Suffice it to say it is not uncommon for refugees with no previous educational experience, to find themselves subjected to instructional processes requiring some knowledge of reading and writing, because they have been placed in a class where the majority of learners are literate.

The absence of a well developed theoretical base represents a major constraint on curricula and syllabuses design and on the selection of instructional processes. Besides, since very few programs have been systematically assessed, the empirical base from which alternatives could be chosen when planning a program is just beginning to be constructed. Until fairly recently, the contribution of formal learning environments to the development of language proficiency, compared to natural environments, was not as well established as it now seems to be. In theory, it does make sense to suggest that interactions with native speakers in an authentic situation are the conditions most likely to result in successful language acquisition. In the case of adults, there must also be the proviso that language learning opportunities will effectively be provided by the environment since It has been shown previously that immigrants often find themselves in situations requiring very little interaction in the second language.

From the research which has been reported so far, providing facilitative conditions to refugees and immigrants for learning a new language in their country of adoption implies giving language instruction within a classroom setting for a period of up to a year or until an established proficiency criterion is reached such as, for example, level 2+ on the FSI scale. Following Kleinman's (1982) judicious proposal, social and supportive services to second language acquisition should be available outside the classroom during the program and for a good amount of time after its completion. A support network made up of native speakers should be made available to program participants to avoid the pattern of avoidance and isolation from the target culture into which refugees and immigrants tend to fall.

Among the unresolved issues, are the identification of criteria for developing more efficient programs defined in terms of the maximum language proficiency reached in the shortest period of time for all participants, the specification of the type of support required after exiting the program, the thorough reexamination of the sorts of instructional resources which would best serve the needs of the poor learners, the training and retraining needs of the adult educators intervening at different stages of the language and cultural adaptation process, etc.

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THE ASSESSMENT CENTRE PROCESS: EXTENDING ITS DIAGNOSTIC CAPABILITIES

Paper presented to the annual conference of the Canadian Association for Studies in Adult Education, May 30 - 31, June 1, 1986, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

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Increasingly, participation in assessment centres is being recognized for its developmental and diagnostic potential. Evidence suggests that most individuals, as a result of participating in assessment centres, gain self insight from the experience which tends to be accurate (Byham, 1980) and beneficial regardless of whether candidates scored high or low on the centre (Teel & DuBois, 1983). This insight is increased when individuals receive performance feedback following their participation in an assessment centre as for example, in a feedback interview with a centre administrator, through group critiques and discussions after watching their video-taped performance, or through group discussions. To increase the benefit of the experience, some businesses and corporations are combining assessment centres and training programs (Byham, 1980; Fatz-enz, Hards & Savage, 1980). In line with this trend, the Police Academy at the Justice Institute of B.C. has recently developed the Career Development Program.

The Career Development Program

Within the policing community, the assessment centre process is most often used as one of several techniques for selecting individuals to enter the police service (i.e., recruit level) or for determining officers suitable for promotion (Turner, 1978; Buracker, 1980). However, unless individuals involved in an assessment centre receive a feedback interview, they will not be aware of their specific strengths and weaknesses in relation to any of the dimensions assessed. As a result, they will not have the information necessary to develop those areas in which they need to gain additional knowledge and/or skills in order to meet the requirements of the job.

The Career Development Program, based on a modified assessment centre process, is designed to give senior level constables the opportunity to assess themselves relative to the knowledge, skills, abilities and personal qualities required of a first level supervisor. As in a traditional assessment centre process, individuals participate in a variety of exercises designed to elicit behaviour related to a number of specific dimensions. Based on self and peer assessment, in which they identify their own strengths and weaknesses in relation to various dimensions, participants then design a training and action plan which will enable them to acquire needed skills and knowledge.

In the first phase of the program, participants are taught basic concepts and skills related to assessment, including familiarization with the different dimensions and skills needed to observe, record, classify and rate peer and their own behaviour. Following training in assessment skills, participants engage in a number of exercises designed to simulate actual job functions and responsibilities of a first level supervisor. Based on these checklists completed by their peers and themselves, participants rate themselves relative to a number of different dimensions. In the final phase of the program, participants design their own training and development action plan. They are provided with an explanation of the various training and development methods (eg., on-the-job coaching, understudy training or mentoring, participation in a project team or task force, enrollment in educational or training courses, participation in community or civic affairs) available to them. Participants are then asked to priorize those dimensions which they consider most important and develop objectives for each of them. Finally, course candidates develop strategies, based on the various training and development methods, to meet their objectives.

The crucial difference between this program and an assessment centre is that the latter requires trained assessors whereas the former uses peer and self-assessment techniques. However, in other aspects the principles and processes underlying the Career Development Program closely follow those of a traditional assessment centre.

Assessment Centre - Principles and Processes

In the assessment centre method, participants engage in a variety of job related exercises which are designed to simulate realistic situations which an individual would face if working at a particular job. Widely used in the selection of supervisory personnel and management or organizational development, the assessment centre process has been used for the past forty years in a variety of settings such as the military, business and industry, government, educational institutions, and the service industry (see MacKinnon, 1977 and Byham, 1977). Given this diversity of settings and uses, the process has been tested, modified, and validated in a number of occupations. However, to qualify as an assessment centre, a number of requirements must be met (Task Force on Assessment Center Standards, 1980):

1. Multiple assessment exercises must be used, at least one of which must be a simulation;

2. Multiple assessors must be used and must receive training before participating in an assessment centre;

3. Judgements used to recommend hiring, promotion, or training and development must be based on information gained by the assessors through observing participants engaged in these exercises;

4. Assessors must make an overall evaluation of behaviour at a different time than when the behaviour was observed;

5. Simulation exercises are used. The simulations must be based on pertinent work place information and require that participants behave as they would in that work situation;

6. An analysis of relevant job behaviours is used to determine the dimensions, attributes, characteristics or qualities evaluated by the assessment centre; and

7. The exercises and techniques used throughout the assessment centre provide information used in evaluating the dimensions, attributes, or qualities previously determined.

Prior to an assessment center, it is important to conduct a thorough and comprehensive job analysis of a particular position or level in order to identify, define and weight those behavioural dimensions which are essential to the successful performance of that job. A dimension can be defined as a "discrete, measureable portion of individual behaviour which is associated with success or failure on a job or at a job level" (Turner, 1978). Dimensions common to assessment centres include leadership, flexibility, decisiveness, organizing and planning skills, oral and written communication skills, and interpersonal skills. Once these have been identified and defined, exercises are designed to bring out the dimensions. These steps are taken to ensure the content validity of the assessment centre process though there is some discussion in the literature concerning the extent to which a job analysis must be thorough and sophisticated and subsequent exercises tailor-made to a particular centre or organization (see Dreher & Sackett, 1981; Norton, 1981).

Assessment centre exercises. These should simulate real world job activities and generally consist of exercises such as: in-basket exercise (which requires that an individual organize, set priorities, make decisions, delegate items and set controls on a number of letters, memos, and other paperwork) assigned or non-assigned role leaderless group discussion (candidates must reach consensus on a course of action for a particular problem); interview simulation (candidates plan and carry out a job related interview with a problem employee); fact-finding incidents (candidates gather factual information about a job-related incident, make and defend a decision on a course of action); and management or business games (eg., team situations involving buying and selling where objectives must be set and teams organized to meet them). A number of factors must be considered when designing assessment centre exercises:

1. the exercise should simulate a significant component of the position;

2. the dimensions should be measured in a variety of different situations;

3. the candidate's performance is measured against the standard rather than against others;

4. the content of the exercise is not biased in favour of a particular group to the predictable exclusion of all others;

5. the relative importance of the various dimensions; and

6. the type of experience and the educational level of the people being assessed.

Assessment centre process. In a typical assessment centre, twelve candidates participate in a series of exercises (during a day or one and one-half days) which enable them to demonstrate various job related skills. During this time their behaviours and comments are noted by an assessor who records these observations. For a group of twelve candidates, six assessors (usually from two ranks or levels higher than the candidates) will have the opportunity to observe different candidates in each exercise and all assessors are given the opportunity to observe each candidate at least once. On the second day assessors prepare notes on each candidate based on their observations from each of the exercises as applied to the dimensions. The third day consists of post centre discussions of each candidate by the assessors. Considering all the observations of behaviour during the centre, assessors agree on an evaluation of each candidate's strengths and weaknesses relative to each dimension and then evaluate the overall potential of each individual. Based on these observations and evaluations, decisions can then be made on the selection and promotional suitability of each candidate.

Primarily, the assessment centre process is used as a selection and promotional tool. However, Alexander (1979), in reviewing the literature, identified a number of different uses to which assessment centres could be directed: (1) identifying strengths and weaknesses of employees; (2) making promotional decisions; (3) establishing developmental plans for employees; (4) developing employees with high managerial potential; (5) aiding in career planning; (6) determining organizational training needs; (7) improving employees' performance in present jobs; (8) evaluating back-up replacements for managers; (9) conducting long-range manpower planning; and (10) determining assessors' developmental needs. Unfortunately, he concludes that "the level of utilization of assessment center results does not seem to approach what the literature suggests. Few organizations follow administrative practices which deal with the longer term utilization of results" (p. 156). In addition to these uses, Kolb (1984) also suggests using assessment centre methodology as a means of appraising employee performance.

Over the past five years, the Justice Institute of B.C. Police Academy has screened approximately 400 recruits as part of its selection function while an additional 200 have undergone the assessment process enroute to promotion. Thus, the assessment centre has largely been used as a means of identifying strengths and weaknesses of potential and current employees and in making selection and promotional decisions. However, in the Career Development Program, the assessment centre process is extended to include skills training in self-assessment, planning and articulating one's own career path, and in training police officers to implement and carry out their own career path plans. The purpose of this study is to determine the extent to which data gained through an assessment centre process can be used for development and diagnostic purposes rather than strictly for selection and promotional decision-making.

Methodology

To date, the Police Academy has sponsored three Career Development Programs. In total, 32 senior level police constables and 1 corporal have completed the program. These officers represent seven municipal police departments.

Prior to beginning the program, officers are asked to complete several personality and interest inventories. These are:

1. Gordon's Personal Profile Inventory (Gordon, 1978) which measures eight personality traits: ascendancy, responsibility, emotional stability, sociability, cautiousness, original thinking, personal relations, and vigor;

2. Leader Effectiveness & Adaptability Description Questionnaire (Hersey & Blanchard, 1973) which measures four situational leadership styles: telling, selling, participating, and delegating; and

3. Two in-house interest inventories developed to determine an individual's propensity towards supervisory or constable functions.

As previously described, participants receive training in basic assessing skills and then engage in a number of exercises relating to dimensions which are essential to successful performance as a supervisor. These dimensions are:

1. decision-making - problem analysis, judgement, decisiveness, and innovativeness
2. management - planning and organizing, delegation, control, acceptance of supervisory responsibility
3. interpersonal - interpersonal tolerance, interpersonal sensitivity, leadership, impact, flexibility
4. personal/motivational - ability to learn, initiative, problem confrontation, tenacity, stress tolerance, work standards
5. communications - listening, oral communication, written communication, reading
6. knowledge - job knowledge

Based on these dimensions, exercises simulate supervisory level job functions and include activities such as a non-assigned role leaderless group discussion, an in-basket exercise, a job knowledge exercise, a reading, writing and presentation exercise, a employee interview situation, and a deployment exercise. After each exercise participants complete a scoring checklist on themselves and a peer. These checklists contain a list of dimensions and related behaviours which are measured in a particular exercise. In the integration phase, participants review all their checklists, complete an exercise-dimension matrix and assign themselves an overall rating on each dimension (based on a five-point scale). Based on these overall ratings, participants priorize those dimensions which they consider to be development areas, develop training objectives, and design strategies to meet those objectives.

At the end of the course, program administrators collect data from the personality profiles and interest inventories and copies of the exercise-dimension matrix and priorized objectives. The data is analyzed to determine if patterns exist for dimensions which officers consider to be developmental areas. Six months after the course, participants are sent a follow-up questionnaire focussing on their objectives and the success they have had in implementing strategies to meet the objectives.

Results

Results of this study are based on data collected from 32 senior level police constables and one corporal whose years of service as an officer ranged from five to eighteen years ($\bar{X}$=10.5 yrs.). Their average age was 34 years and their educational level ranged from grade 12 graduation (n=15) to a completed bachelors degree (n=7). At the end of the course, participants were asked to develop objectives for and then priorize those dimensions which they felt required development. Dimensions were priorized using a six point ranking. The highest ranked dimension was assigned a value of six through to the lowest ranking dimension which received a value of one. Participants priorized a maximum of six or less dimensions. Table I shows the mean ranking of the various dimensions and the number of people who considered them to be a priority.

TABLE I

PRIORITY OF DIMENSION FOR 33 PARTICIPANTS
IN THREE SESSIONS OF THE CAREER DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

JOB PERFORMANCE DIMENSIONS	MEAN PRIORITIES	NUMBER REPORTING
	1....2....3....4....5....6	
Decision-Making		
Problem Analysis	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	7
Judgement	XXXXXXXXX	3
Decisiveness	XXXXXXXXXXX	3
Innovativeness	XXXXXXXXX	7
Management		
Planning & Organizing	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	14
Delegation	XXXXXXXXX	12
Control	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	6
Acceptance of Supervisory Responsibility	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	4
Interpersonal		
Interpersonal Tolerance	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	8
Interpersonal Sensitivity	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	8
Leadership	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	5
Impact	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	4
Flexibility	XXXXXXXXXXXXX	4
Personal/Motivational		
Ability to Learn		0
Initiative	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	5
Problem Confrontation	XXXXX	4
Tenacity	XXXXXXXXXX	1
Stress Tolerance	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	5
Work Standards		0
Communications		
Listening	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	7
Oral Communication	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	11
Written Communication	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	15
Reading	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	7
Knowledge		
Job Knowledge	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	8
	1....2....3....4....5....6	

Note: Not all candidates indicated six priorities. Results are based on the number of priorities identified by each candidate.

The two dimensions which received the highest mean priority ranking were planning & organizing and interpersonal tolerance ($\bar{X}$=5.0). Fourteen and eight participants respectively considered these two dimensions to be a priority for their development. These were followed closely by written communication ($\bar{X}$=4.8), leadership ($\bar{X}$=4.6), oral communication ($\bar{X}$=4.4), and job knowledge ($\bar{X}$=4.4). Six other dimensions received a mean priority rating of four or greater: problem analysis ($\bar{X}$=4.2), control ($\bar{X}$=4.2), acceptance of supervisory responsibility ($\bar{X}$=4.2), interpersonal sensitivity ($\bar{X}$=4.0), impact ($\bar{X}$=4.0), and listening ($\bar{X}$=4.0). It must be remembered that not all candidates considered all dimensions to be a priority for their development. Fifteen of the 33 participants assigned some priority to the dimension of written communications ($\bar{X}$=4.8) while fourteen considered planning and organizing ($\bar{X}$=5.0) to have some priority. Twelve participants gave some priority to delegation ($\bar{X}$=2.6) while eleven considered oral communication ($\bar{X}$=4.4) to be a priority development area for themselves.

Further analyses showed several significant relationships between dimensions considered to be a priority for development. Officers who considered planning & organizing to be a high development area also saw leadership ($r=1.00$, $p=.001$) as a priority. Those who considered delegation a priority were also more inclined to see initiative ($r=1.00$, $p=.001$) as a development area than were those not concerned with delegation. And, those who saw a need for development in their oral communication skills also were more likely to consider reading ($r=.98$, $p=.01$) a development area than were officers satisfied with their verbal skills.

These results suggest that constables do require development on several dimensions prior to promotion to a first level supervisor. These results can be generalized across the three courses, age, number of years of service, and educational levels of the officers. With two exceptions, statistical analyses showed no significant relationships between these variables and the priority assigned to the different dimensions. However, younger officers were more inclined to see stress tolerance as a priority dimension ($r=-.95$, $p=.01$) than were older constables. Participants in the third course were less inclined to assign a priority to developing written communication skills ($r=-.70$, $p=.01$) than were those in the other two courses.

Further analyses showed several significant relationships between scores on the personality, leadership, and interest inventories and the dimensions identified as priorities for development. Individuals who saw decisiveness as a priority for development were less likely to be verbally ascendant or active in groups (ascendancy — $r=-1.00$, $p=.001$) than did those for whom decisiveness was not important. Officers who had greater faith and trust in people (personal relations) considered leadership as a development area ($r=.99$, $p=.01$) whereas those who scored lower on personal relations weren't concerned with this dimension. In terms of leadership styles, participants for whom interpersonal sensitivity was a development priority were more inclined to be participators ($r=.90$, $p=.01$) and less likely to be delegators ($r=-.86$, $p=.01$) than were those unconcerned with interpersonal sensitivity. The reverse situation was true for those who saw problem analysis as a development priority. Officers who ranked this as a high priority were less likely to be participators ($r=-.88$, $p=.01$) and more inclined to be delegators ($r=.89$, $p=.01$) than were those who didn't see problem analysis as a priority. However, those who saw a need to develop their judgement were more likely to use "selling" as their predominant leadership style ($r=1.00$, $p=.01$) than were those who saw less need in this area. With regard to interest inventories and dimensions, officers who were less interested in constable functions considered job knowledge ($r=-.83$, $p=.01$) a greater priority for development than did those who showed a greater interest in a constable's job.

This study and its results are based on data from 33 respondants and as such should be considered preliminary in nature. As the Career Development Program is ongoing, it will be possible to continue to collect data from more participants and thus confirm, or perhaps refute, the results described above.

Conclusions

Determining the training needs of police officers is often a haphazard process; very few systematic needs assessments are conducted by departments or training academies. Information gathered from sources such as performance appraisal reviews or assessment centre results may be considered in determining training and development needs of individual officers. However, these sources are rarely considered in determining the training needs of groups or ranks of officers within a police force. The purpose of this study then was to assess the potential which methods such as the assessment centre may have in assisting police officers to diagnose their own career development needs and, ultimately perhaps, to determine the training needs of entire ranks of police personnel.

The Career Development Program, based on the assessment centre process, was designed to provide participants with the opportunity to assess their potential or current skills as a first level supervisor and to give officers the opportunity to formulate a first level management training and development plan. Using peer and self-appraisal techniques, officers were able to identify a number of dimensions which they considered priorities for their development. Management skills such as planning and organizing, delegation, and control were identified as priorities for development as were areas of communication such as listening, oral and written communication and reading skills. Interpersonal skills such as tolerance and sensitivity, and leadership were also considered priority development areas.

Given the wealth of experience of senior level constables, this is one of the few programs in which officers actively identify their own development areas and design strategies by which they can gain needed skills and knowledge. Feedback from participants indicated that they were surprised at the accuracy with which this modified assessment process identified areas in which they required development before moving into first level supervisory positions. In fact, individuals who had previously been through a regular assessment centre process said that the results of the Career Development Program showed development areas very similar to those dimensions identified in the assessment centre. They also all agreed that participation in this program would be beneficial to their own personal and career development. Thus, in line with principles of adult education and in recognition of characteristics of the adult learner (Knowles, 1980) officers were actively engaged in identifying their own needs. Furthermore, these course participants represented both large and small police departments and variables such as age, years of service and level of education did not significantly affect the priority assigned to the development areas. This suggests that the results of this study can be considered a valid reflection of training needs of senior level constables. The ongoing collection of data from upcoming courses should continue to support this assertion.

The adult education and training literature is replete with discussions concerning needs and needs assessment strategies (eg., Pennington, 1980; Newstrom & Lilyquist, 1979). As well, the assessment centre process has a proven track record with regard to selection and promotional decision-making. However it continues to be underutilized as a diagnostic tool for assisting individuals to identify their own training and development needs. Its diagnostic capabilities are even less utilized in determining training needs of large groups of individuals or organizations. The prognosis of this study is that the assessment centre process can be a valuable tool in the diagnosis of individual and organizational training and development needs.

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THE ANDRAGOGICAL APPROACH IN GRADUATE STUDIES: SUCCESS OR FAILURE?

JEANNINE ROY-POIRIER

INTRODUCTION

Since Malcolm Knowles popularized the term "andragogy" on the North American continent, the world of adult education has not been the same. In fact, this approach to learning has been challenging the more traditional pedagogical model.

In adult education graduate courses, the two approaches, or a mixture of both are used, depending on the academic background of the instructor, the expectations and characteristics of the learners, the nature of the course etc.

Even among adult learners, distinctions seem to appear between men and women, between persons who have received a higher degree of formal education and those who have not.

As such, this paper will explore four basic questions:

1. Do all graduate students respond equally to the andragogical approach?
2. Are there differences emerging in relation to the linguistic background of the participants?
3. Does the sex of the learner make a difference?
4. Which approach is more appropriate within a graduate adult education course?

This paper will present a brief review of some of the literature on andragogy and pedagogy. The methodology used in this study will be described as well as the educational approach used. This will be followed by an account of the

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findings. This paper therefore looks at the pedagogy - andragogy debate from the point of view of its practical application within a graduate classroom setting.

This study does however have its limitations. First of all, the number of adult learners involved is small. Secondly, the research is not of a purely scientific nature and would more precisely qualify as a study and report, which some adult educators, i.e. Long (1983) consider to be useful in understanding the phenomenon of adult education.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The following is a brief review of the literature which explores the concepts of andragogy and pedagogy.

Malcolm Knowles has been credited for introducing the term "andragogy" on the North American continent. Recent writers (Davenport and Davenport, 1985) however question this belief, and bring us back to 1926 when Lindeman published The Meaning of Adult Education.

From Lindeman, Knowles (1984) admits having received considerable inspiration, leading to his first major work, The Modern Practice of Adult Education: Andragogy versus Pedagogy (1970). Because of its somewhat controversial nature and provocative sub-titles such as "Farewell to Pedagogy", and by polarizing the two approaches, Knowles' book became the object of considerable discussion, resulting in the andragogy - pedagogy debate.

McKenzie (1977) is one who opened the debate, using a stance stemming from the premise that adults and children are existentially different. Elias (1979)

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refutes McKenzie's stance, claiming that there is no sound basis for a distinction between andragogy and pedagogy. He disagrees that children and adults are existentially different, even stating that "teaching adult literacy involves the same process and techniques as teaching child literacy". (p.255) In turn, McKenzie (1979) rejects Elias' position, basing his views on Heidegger's notion of "being-in-the-world". He specifies that a concensus has emerged historically which suggest that children and adults are perceived as existentially different.

Knowles (1979) reappears on the scene, and in entering the debate, acknowledges that he made a "serious mistake" in subtitling his book, "Andragogy versus Pedagogy". He now places the two approaches on a continuum, that is, as an aim to achieve as the learner acquires a greater degree of maturity and autonomy.

Carlson (1979) adds a political dimension, stating that Elias misses the point by emphasizing teaching over adult learning. Linked to the democratic process, andragogy emphasizes the questioning of societal structures rather than the socialization or resocialization of individuals, such as in pedagogy. Carlson's emphasis is on facilitating rather than on directing.

Knowles (1980) produces his second major work, The Modern Practice of Adult Education: From Pedagogy to Andragogy, in which he attempts to clarify the new position he now espouses.

A study by Briggs (1982) which investigates preferences with regard to teaching/learning strategies, indicates that graduate students prefer seminars, work shops, practical projects, case studies and lectures. The respondents disliked individually programmed learning and assessment by examination only.

Rachal (1983) joins the "fray" by substituting self-directed and teacher-directed for andragogy and pedagogy which he feels eliminates the child-adult issue.

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Knowles'(1984) latest book illustrates the use of andragogical principles in a number of settings such as business, industry, government, colleges and universities... elementary and secondary education. Highly descriptive in nature, it appeals specifically to practioners.

Yonge (1985) claims that a pedagogy-andragogy distinction cannot be justified by focusing on learning and teaching. Rather, he goes to the roots of the words pedogogy(accompaniment of a child) and andragogy (accompaniment of an adult). Also, pedagogic authority rests on a different basis than andragogic authority. Whilst the child will show an unqualified acceptance of authority, the adult tends towards a critical questioning of authority. If these differences are not respected, warns Yonge, the relationship of authority will change from an authoritative to an authoritarian one.

Davenport and Davenport (1985) state that a person adhering to a pedagogical philosophy will advocate an instructional climate that is authority-oriented, formal and competitive. On the other hand, an instructor subscribing to an andragogical philosophy will establish an instructional climate that is mutually respectful, informal and collaborative.

They also report on research conducted among others by Van Allen (1982) and Grubbs (1981). Using the Education Orientation Questionnaire, Van Allen found that full-time younger female participants with higher educational attainment and those who had followed several courses in adult education had the highest andragogical scores. Full-time younger female instructors were also more andragogical.

Grubbs' study points to similar results. Female faculty members tended to be more andragogical, as well as faculty members in pastoral ministries and religious education.

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Lam's (1985) study also indicates that female learners want courses that are designed to meet their needs, and are more sensitive to the type of learning climate. More mature students favour a higher level of participation, including a larger role in the evaluation process. Male learners with lower formal education preferreda far more structured learning context. Lam stresses that his findings provide some critical linkages between higher and adult education.

The Final Report of the Fourth International Conference on Adult Education brings to the fore a linguistic difference in the use of the term "andragogy". A careful examination of the French and English editions points to a much wider use of the term in the French language. It would be interesting to compare as well the other texts, since this report has been published in six languages.

Brookfield (1986) points out that among professors who are members of the Commission of Professors of Adult Education, there is a high level of agreement concerning the importance of andragogical practice in facilitating self-directed learning.

Darkenwald and Valentine (1986) have developed an instrument which measures the social environment of adult education classrooms. The instrument measures seven dimensions: affiliation, teacher support, task orientation, personal goal attainment, organization and clarity, student influence and involvement. Their research suggests that students prefer a classroom social envrionment that is congruent with each of these seven dimensions. It also points to gender differences, stating that females rated particularly high on affiliation and student influence.

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METHODOLOGY

The research subjects consisted of fifty-two participants in two adult education courses taught at the University of Ottawa, under the Psychopedagogy concentration of the Faculty of Education, between September 1983 to April 1986. One of the courses, Aims, Development and Organization of Adult Education was taught in English; the other, L'Éducateur d'adultes: rôles et comportements was taught in the French language.

The data collection was carried out in the following fashion. First of all, information on the participants was obtained through a brief questionnaire, given at the first session of each course. From the data, profiles of the five student groups were drawn up. Secondly, notes were written and recorded at the conclusion of each session, and were later coded according to the seven dimensions of the approach used in these classes. A somewhat andragogical approach which combined structure and flexibility, stressed the seven following dimensions: an informal physical setting, the participants' double role as learners and educators, an emphasis on learning rather than on teaching, sharing and collaborating, enhancement of the maturation process, self-evaluation and an evaluation of each session by the participants.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In the five classes, the females outnumbered the males 42 to 10, making up 80% of the participants. Thirty-five of the participants were Anglophone whilst fifteen were Francophone. Career groups such as nurses and teachers were highly represented. The table which appears on the following page, displays a profile of the five groups of participants.

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	Group A	Group B	Group C	Group D	Group E
Course	Aims, Development and Organization of Adult Education	same	L'éducatieur d'adultes: rôles et comportements	Aims, Development and Organization of Adult Education	L'éducateur d'adultes: rôles et comportements
Language of instruction	English	English	French	English	French
Number of participants	11	13	5	14	9
Gender:					
Male	2 males	4 males	1 male	1 male	2 males
Female	9 females	9 females	4 females	13 females	6 females
Linguistic background;					
Anglophone	10 Anglophones	11 Anglophones	1 Anglophone	12 Anglophones	1 Anglophone
Francophone	1 Francophone	1 Francophone	4 Francophones	1 Francophone	8 Francophones
Other	4 bilingual	1 Spanish 2 bilingual	all bilingual	1 African	all bilingual
Student Status	3 Full-time M.Ed. Remainder, part-time 1 pre-doctoral student seeking admission in a Ed.D programme	2 Full-time M.Ed. 1 special student 12 seeking M.Ed.	3 Part-time M.Ed. 1 M.A. Ed. 1 seeking admission to doctoral studies	3 Full-time M.Ed. 2 with M.A's 1 Ph.D.	1 Full-time doctoral 8 part-time M.ED.
Career status	nurses: 3 teachers: 4 (2 elementary, 2 adult day school) 1 self-employed free-lance adult educator	nurses: 5 teachers: 4 (3 secondary, 1 community college) 1 federal civil servant 1 former industrial manager 2 unemployed	teachers: 4 (2 elementary, 1 adult day school 1 employed by the City of Ottawa) 1 federal civil servant	nurses: 1 teachers: (2 elementary, 1 agricultural college, 1 secondary, 1 teacher's college, 1 educational administrator) 2 federal civil servants 3 unemployed	nurses: 2 lawyer: 1 teachers: (1 elementary, 1 teacher administrator, 1 university professor) 2 federal civil servants
Previous pedagogical Training	6	3	3	8	4
Motives for taking the course	all work related except 1 5 seeking a degree in adult education	all work related except 3 7 seeking a degree in adult education	4 work related 1 personal interest	all work related except 3	6 work related 2 personal interest 1 working towards a Ph.D. in Psychopedagogy

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The younger female participants were generally more responsive to the andragogical approach than the older women who sought more direction and were more subject-oriented. However three of the male participants were the most andragogical of all the participants.

The groups did not respond equally to the approach. It was interesting to note that the most responsive groups were francophone. Although one cannot generalize from these findings, it is quite possible that cultural differences do exist. Certainly, the far more frequent use of the term "andragogy" in the French UNESCO document tends to suggest a greater acceptance of this educational approach to adult learning.

Also, the most motivated students functioned well in the andragogical approach. Having already attained a higher level of autonomy and self-directedness, they reported higher productivity when given the opportunity to explore their personal interests and establish their own learning objectives. One highly motivated full-time doctoral student reported a higher degree of productivity than in her other classes.

All the participants were appreciative of the basic structure offered in the courses through a course outline and suggested readings. None of the students were ready for a totally self-directed experience, in spite of their high degree of formal education. They sought "authoritative" knowledge within a democratic process. They also favoured an informal, friendly, "adult-type" atmosphere, with an emphasis on sharing, cooperation and participation. One of the men, who had experienced competitiveness in former learning experiences, commented on the sharing of material and resources by the participants and the high degree of collabortiveness achieved by the group. A female participant who expressed anxiety at the beginning of the course, indicated at the end that she had experienced "personal growth" through this approach.

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CONCLUSION

Through a review of some of the literature on pedagogical and andragogical learning styles and a study of five graduate adult education classes at the Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa, one can generally conclude that not all adult participants respond equally to the andragogical approach. Participants may best be served by a middle-of-the road situation, which allows flexibility and adaptation, based on the feed-back provided to the facilitator.

Emerging cultural and gender differences could provide the setting for more scientific quantitative or qualitative research. If preferences can be established within particular groups, research is needed to find out why this is so, perhaps through an analysis of factors or by in-depth interviews with learners. It may be that women and minority linguistic groups prefer less authoritarian style settings which allow the critical questioning of societal structures as suggested by Carlson, Yonge, and others. Perhaps the physical and psychological climate suggested by Knowles (1984) is most appropriate for learners who seek greater democratic parameters and more fulfilling situations than those offered to them in the past. Finally, this discourse could lead to the whole notion of personal power within democratic societies, particularly at a time when authoritarian and totalitarian regimes of the right and the left far out-number the democracies of the world. The education of adults can lead to the transformation of societies, through new modes of delivery, whether they be labeled andragogy, revised pedagogy or educational renewal.

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ORIGINS OF ADULT EDUCATION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

INSIGHTS FOR THE PRESENT PERIOD

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Students of the craft of history tend to fall into two categories, those who stress the primacy of telling the story of the past "how it was" - a descriptive or narrative approach - and those who emphasize the interpretive function of the historian. One of the outstanding representatives of the former view is the contemporary American historian, Barbara Tuchman. She states in her recent book, Practicing History (1981:8):

> I am rather afraid of philosophies. They contain a risk for the historian of being tempted to manipulate his facts in the interests of his system, which results in histories stronger in ideology than "how it really was".

She comments further (1981:18), "I think of myself as a storyteller, a narrator, who deals in true stories, not fiction". The French historian, Paul Veyne (1971), refers to history as a "true novel" and to the historian's task of choosing the plot he will follow. The well known English historian of the Tudor period, G.R. Elton, seems to come down on the same side of the argument when he states (1967:66), "If the past is to be understood, it must be given full respect in its own right".

The other school of historians declares that it has no less respect for the past in its own right, but stresses the point of view or interpretive role of the historian. To E.H. Carr, for instance, the historian is engaged in (1961:35) "a dialogue between the historian in the present and the facts of the past". Another historian who brings a strong philosophical point of view to his work, Herbert Muller, has stated (1952:38) that "the past has no meaningful existence except as it exists for us, as it is given meaning by us". The historian's task is to create a usable past. Paul Veyne states the point of view of this school as follows (1971:81):

> Historiography is the reflection of our situation, the backward projection of our idea; the vision of the past is the reflection of our values; the historical object does not exist independently of the spectator of history; the past is what we understand as our prehistory.

The present writer has tended to be of the first of these two schools of thought. A great deal of my research and writing have been based on primary sources and has been devoted to describing the evolution of adult education in the province of British Columbia. Having been the first scholar to attempt to deal with much of the material, the essential task seemed to me to be to make the facts known, to attempt to tell it as it was, leaving more selective and strongly interpretive approaches - by myself and others - for another occasion.

One of these times has arisen. Adult education is in disarray. As a result of budget restraint and other forces, the large, fairly comprehensive services to adult learners which have been provided by our public institutions - school boards, colleges, institutes and universities - have suffered severe blows. Both "economies" of adult education have been hard hit. The largely self-supporting part of the field, in which student fees must meet a majority of the costs, is feeling severe institutional pressures, has been forced to increase fees sharply and in many instances is now experiencing a significant drop in enrollment. But as unfortunate as this is, much more serious is that in the other section of the adult education economy - services to disadvantaged sectors of society - public funds have been the chief financial resource, not student fees. The withdrawal or sharp reduction of public funding in this sector has caused the decimation of programs, lengthening of waiting lists and removal of much of the social and educational animation that is so necessary to successful practice in this sector.

It is clearly necessary to look for new approaches. We can examine the way in which other countries organize their adult education services. We can experiment with new approaches, new institutional forms. And we can look to our own past. Were there features of the way in which we provided adult education opportunities at an earlier stage of our own development which we can turn to and learn from now? For various reasons, the public institutions on which we have come to rely so heavily in recent decades have let us down. Is there a better way? This line of inquiry has brought the writer back to the debate about the uses of history. Is there, in Muller's words, a "usable past" in our own experience on which we may now draw productively in seeking a better, more balanced and less vulnerable provision of adult education services?

* * *

In most countries we know about, adult education in its modern form began under private sponsorship. Thomas Kelly, in his history of the field in Great Britain (1970), indicates origins arising from three sources: from religious motives, which led to much church-sponsored work such as that of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Methodist Societies and the Adult Schools; from the rise of scientific knowledge, which led to peer groups based in coffee houses, mutual improvement groups, working class scientific societies, debating societies and the Mechanics' Institutes movement; and from the drive for political reform, operating through such groups as the Hampden Clubs, Corresponding Societies, the co-operatives and the Chartist movement. In his treatment of many of these same forces, J.F.C. Harrison (1961) summed up the motives of those providing adult education in the early years under such headings as, "self-help and self-improvement", popular protest, higher idealism and "Man the Reformer". Through these accounts and others, it is clear that the motivation for the provision of opportunities for adult education came from two main sources, the desire to do good for others and the desire for self or social improvement. And in the early decades of the movement, the instruments adopted were private and voluntary organizations, some of them special purpose ones.

The American story, as told by Cremin, Knowles, Grattan and others, contains many of the same elements, but with a strong tendency emerging early in the story for the utilization of public authority and public institutions to promote the public welfare. In his history of American education during the colonial period, Cremin (1970) brings out the close links between developments in the American colonies and those taking place in Britain. Under the headings, "the practice of piety", "the nurture of civility" and "the advancement of learning", we see the efforts of private and emerging public authorities alike to shape the development of the citizen and to lay the groundwork for what came to be called "the American dream". Knowles' history of adult education in the United States (1977) acknowledges the early contributions of the voluntary sector but is concerned largely with the role of various public authorities and thr professionalization of the field. Grattan (1955), although determined, like Knowles, to convince us that the education of the person of all ages is an integral part of the American credo, had more interest in exploring the nature of some of the voluntary and private sector contributions to the field. Basically the picture is the same, with the private and voluntary associations carrying much of the load in the early years and the public institutions and authorities assuming a larger role with the passing decades.

We are not as well served in Canada as in these other countries with respect to comprehensive histories of adult education (Selman 1980). The closest we come to a history are the three volumes edited by Kidd (1950; 1963) and Kidd and Selman (1978), which contain a large number of articles and together represent something of the nature and variety of Canadian adult education. One feature of the field that such an approach does make abundantly clear, is the enormous contribution to the field in Canada which has been made by voluntary and private organizations.

In Canada, as elsewhere, enthusiasts for adult education have striven over the years to have the public authorities assume responsibility for the delivery of basic services in adult education (Selman 1984). This has been done in the interests of the provision of a high quality, adequately financed and generally accessible adult education service. As early as 1935, in the introduction to his survey of adult education in Canada, Peter Sandiford lamented that most of the learning adults achieve "is of the haphazard, casual, and hit-or-miss variety" and called for greater "co-ordination and control" by government. "The time has arrived when adult education should be made as much an integral part of provincial education as the public and high schools now are" (Sandiford 1935, Introduction p. 2;Chap. 20, pp. 1,3). This, and many such efforts by adult educators in the decades since that time to persuade educational authorities to undertake greater responsibility for adult education have been made in the belief that provision in this field would thereby be made more effective, more comprehensive and more accessible. There has also been a tendency to assume that if adult education became part of the public system, the standards of delivery - teaching, program planning, counselling, administration, etc. - would be improved. In their general history of education in Canada, Wilson and associates state that adult education "lost much of its amateur status" in the late fifties and sixties as provincial governments and other public authorities took responsibility for the field (Wilson et al 1970, p.412).

The pattern of development which has been identified above in the case of three countries, Great Britain, the United States and Canada, whereby adult education came into being largely under private and voluntary auspices and subsequently was taken up as well by public authorities is, not surprisingly, true of the Province of British Columbia as well. This author has carried out a study in some detail of the origins of adult education in B.C., in the period before 1914 (Selman 1971). On the basis of this research, it is possible to identify the pattern of services in this early period and to make some assumptions about the motivation of those involved.

In those formative years in British Columbia, the most important factors in the development of adult education provision were the spirit of service to others, shared efforts to build a better, more refined and hospitable society, a "getting ahead" motivation on the part of many individuals, and the emergence of government services aimed at economic and social development. These broad categories do not embrace all developments in the field during these decades, but account for much of the adult education activity.

The Spirit of Service to Others. This motivation was an important element in the development of adult education as well as other services in the pioneer years. Most prominent in this category were the churches and church-related organizations. The churches carried out much of the educational work among the Indian people in the early years, for both children and adults. They were frequently responsible for founding and providing leadership for the first educational and cultural organization in the community, often called a "church institute". They sponsored a variety of educational activities for the community in general, not just their own members, including lectures and lecture series, discussion and debating societies, libraries and reading rooms, and musical and other artistic activities. Of particular note in British Columbia was the work done by several Christian denominations and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in second language and other educational work among Chinese and Japanese immigrants. The Y.M.C.A.s and Y.W.C.A.s (especially the former in this early period) were important providers of adult education in several centers, most notably in Vancouver and Victoria, where the Y.M. maintained flourishing night schools prior to the entry of the local school boards into that field.

Community Betterment Groups. There were many organizations of this type during this period, ranging from local, short-lived groups (debating societies, cultural groups, study groups) to large organizations, some province-wide with several branches, and some with links with government. These included the churches, the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A.s, several mechanics' institutes, women's and farmers' institutes, literary societies, art, historical, general cultural and scientific organizations, organizations devoted to the study of public affairs, and a variety of others. The categories of these groups can be briefly stated but their number and variety were impressive.

Groups Assisting with Self-improvement, "Getting Ahead". Many of the groups already mentioned offered services which were used mainly by individuals for the purpose of getting ahead economically or socially. For instance, in the years before the school boards opened night schools, the Y.M.C.A. evening class programs in Victoria and Vancouver were mainly vocational in their emphasis. Several unions ran educational activities for apprentices and others. The Farmers' Institutes were largely vocational in emphasis, as were some activities of the mechanics' institutes. Many proprietary schools provided opportunities for vocationally-related study. A number of professional groups, most notably the school teachers, had active educational programs.

Emergence of Government-Sponsored Educational Activities. This period - before 1914 - brought the early stages of the development of government and other public provision of adult education services - sponsored by federal, provincial and local authorities, either by departments of government themselves or by public bodies and institutions such as local school boards. Both federal and provincial departments of agriculture ran short courses and demonstration farms, and provided consultation and information services. The provincial government began its travelling library service and supported the development of local libraries. The Department of Mines conducted courses for prospectors. With the amendment of the Public Schools Act in 1910, the provincial government authorized school boards to establish night schools for adults and agreed to pay part of the costs. The Department of Education took the lead in promoting teacher in-service development. These are some examples of the emerging role of government in adult education.

In summary, there were several important features of adult education in these early decades. First, adult education had in the main been started as a result of private and voluntary initiative and was, at the end of the period still led, organized and maintained largely by voluntary organizations. Secondly, much of the public assistance to adult education was rendered by means of providing financial support (often very modest support indeed) and/or other assistance to the work of voluntary organizations, thus leaving the leadership of the work in voluntary hands. This was true of the mechanics' institutes, local libraries, agricultural societies, farmers', women's and teachers' institutes. And thirdly, in a few aspects of adult education, most notably the short course work in agriculture and the night school programs inaugurated by school boards, there was the beginning of services being provided directly by the public authority or institution, without the intermediary of the private or voluntary organization.

* * *

The adult education movement in Canada, as a self-conscious entity, might be said to have begun with the formation of the Canadian Association for Adult Education in 1935 (Faris 1975). The parallel occurrence in British Columbia was the formation in 1954 of what became the British Columbia Council of Adult Education. Of course much significant adult education went on before these dates, but they mark the emergence of organizations formed by persons and groups which attached importance to the aims and character of adult education, recognized they had interests in common in that connection and were prepared to work collectively on behalf of the advancement of the field.

It is clear that one of the major goals of the adult education movement in Canada, certainly in British Columbia and generally in other democratic societies, has been to achieve strong support for and involvement in adult education on the part of governments and public educational institutions (Selman 1982: 1984b: Titmus 1981). It has been part of the liberal and social democratic traditions that where it can be shown that standards of equity and equality of access and opportunity can best be served by the state and its agencies taking responsibility for the provision of a service, this should be the goal. In the case of adult education in Canada, it has been the aim of the movement to convince public educational institutions and governments themselves to give strong support and prominence to adult education. This has been seen as the key to the provision of the most effective, accessible adult education services possible. There was general satisfaction in the field of adult education during the 1950s and 1960s with the vast growth of the public educational systems in Canada and the increasing role of school boards, colleges and universities in the provision of adult education. And when the federal government changed its basic position with respect to vocational training in 1966 (implemented in the Adult Occupational Training Act of 1967), thereby greatly strengthening its direct role in the provision of training, this was seen by adult educators as a great advance (Thomas 1967) and has more recently been described by Alan Thomas as a landmark event in the development of public policy towards the field (Thomas 1981). The general point being made is to indicate that it has been one of the chief goals of the adult education movement to convince government and the public educational institutions to provide leadership and play a prominent part in the provision of adult education services.

The case being advanced in this paper is that the present period of budget restraint and dominance of political conservatism has revealed a basic flaw in the strategy of the adult education movement with respect to its advocacy activities. In the efforts to establish and expand the public sector's role in the field of adult education, not enough regard has been given to the essential role of the private sector. As a result, with the current retrenchment and faltering of the public system, the private sector is not as able as it should be to take up the slack.

It is important to point out that what is being suggested here is not a replacement of a public system by one operated wholly through other bodies, but rather a mixed system in which operate both public institutions and also other recognized bodies, which would carry out adult education programs, with the assistance of public funds.

To return to the case of British Columbia: in the early years in the city of Vancouver, the Y.M.C.A. maintained a fairly comprehensive night school program, concentrating mainly on vocational subjects. When the Vancouver School Board began its night school activities on a permanent basis in 1909, it simply ignored the presence of the Y.M.C.A. in the field, offered whatever programs it chose and virtually wiped out the Y's program (Selman 1971). (That organization subsequently developed other aspects of its work and soon had a flourishing program again.) It is also clear from the record that some unions, which had hitherto maintained educational programs of their own, arranged to turn the programs over to the school board and to abandon their own efforts. These are examples in microcosm of what has happened in many parts of Canada and many aspects of the field of adult education, without adequate concern being expressed and measures taken by the adult education movement to continue to promote the strength of the voluntary sector. A further illustration of this point was revealed by a detailed study of the organizations of adult educators in British Columbia during the 1950s and 1960s. Whereas at the beginning of the period adult educators from the voluntary sector were prominent in the leadership and membership of these bodies, by 1970, they had virtually disappeared

(Selman 1969; 1980b).

There is a tendency in North America for us to rely very heavily on wholly public means to carry out public policy. Consider the contrast with the Scandinavian countries. We tend to spend the public funds we devote to adult education almost exclusively by granting them to public institutions - school boards, colleges and institutes, universities, libraries, galleries, etc. In the case of Sweden, for instance - which perhaps represents the other end of the spectrum - a very substantial portion of public funds which go to support adult education is granted to ten national "recognized" educational associations (Titmus 1981). As a result, these non-governmental organizations have been able to build up large clientele , appropriate facilities and professional staff. (It is also a requirement of the Swedish system that the programs run by these agencies be open to all citizens.)

We have gone a different route in Canada. We have employed public funds almost exclusively in support of public agencies and institutions. Voluntary agencies have on the whole been left to fend for themselves as far as their adult education work is concerned. (A significant exception to this, by the way, has been the sizable federal grants which have in recent years been made to the labor movement in Canada in support of its educational work. Other exceptions likely exist in all provinces, as they do in B.C.) The Canadian approach has seemed to work reasonably well, especially in prosperous times when the public educational systems were continuing to expand. Without - it seems fair to say - realizing it, however, we were putting too many of our eggs in one basket. We were concentrating in the public system much of the trained staff, outreach capacity, facilities and other resources on which the development and delivery of quality programs depend.

The effects of austerity budgets, fiscal restraint and conservative policies in the last few years have revealed weaknesses in this approach. In British Columbia, at least, we have seen severe cutbacks in the grants for adult education to educational institutions, which have resulted in the dismissal of large numbers of administrative, planning, outreach and counselling staff, the cancellation of many kinds of services, curtailment or cancellation of programs, lengthening waiting lists for some programs. Generally, the most disadvantaged have been the hardest hit. The outreach time and staff which are so necessary in much programming for these groups have been disappearing at a rapid rate. And programs for such groups - adult basic education, English as a second language, and adult special education - are the ones least able to pay for themselves out of fees and have been casualties, or are most at risk, in the present period.

In what ways would the alternative policy, that of building up the strength of the voluntary sector and the routing of substantial public funds to recognized voluntary organizations be an improvement? If we presently had something like the Swedish system, for instance, would we in fact be any better off? We would still be facing the need to restrict government spending and the cuts would then fall on the voluntary organizations, just as they now are on the public institutions.

There would be a number of important differences:

1. The Swedish "recognized associations" in every case are educational arms, or are closely linked to other groups - organized labor, political parties, the churches, farmers' and professional bodies - each of which represents a potentially strong advocacy group. With such organizations having a stake in and concern for their role in adult education, the latter may have stronger friends and suffer less in times of fiscal restraint than does adult educationhere. And such advocacy as is carried

out will be conducted on behalf of potential learners and cannot, as in our system, be so easily interpreted as the pleading of a self-interested group, the professional educators.

2. There would be a strong corps of professional staff built up within each of the recognized associations. While clearly such staff would be affected if public grants to the organizations were cut back, in such a decentralized system, there would be more ways to cushion the shock, more alternative possibilities of replacing at least some of the lost funds from other sources, inside or outside the organization.
3. All, or most such associations would rely as a matter of usual practice on a high degree of voluntary support for and participation in the leadership of their adult education work. Such a combination of professional and volunteer effort would be more resilient, could adjust more flexibly and generally could cope more successfully with cutbacks than can the strictly public institutions, which have little or no recourse to volunteer services.
4. In the present situation in Canada, in several areas of human services, government is taking the position that it does not have the financial resources it once had and that therefore the private sector must assume, or re-assume responsibility for the provision of some services. The problem with this is that we have become accustomed to government providing those services and in many cases, the capacity of the voluntary sector to deliver them has atrophied, or disappeared and must be re-acquired. In the case of adult education, if strong non-public agencies are developed and supported in normal times, they would have the capacity, if called upon, to pick up more of the load in bad times.

There may well be other important advantages to something like the Swedish pattern. What is attempted above is to examine the matter from only one perspective - the capacity of such a system to respond to cuts in its grants from government.

It would be foolish to think that a system developed in another country, to meet other circumstances, could be transplanted to Canada. However, the events of the last several years in this country may suggest that the kind of structures we have created here - the kind which adult educators have been advocating for several decades - may not in fact be in the best interests of adult learners in our communities. There may be wisdom in regaining some of the strengths of an earlier era when responsibility for a great deal of adult education rested in the hands of a variety of non-governmental organizations. It may be in the best interest of all to promote a more balanced, mixed economy in adult education and to devote a substantial portion of public funds available for this field to building and maintaining a non-governmental, non-public parallel system of adult education which, in good times and bad, can augment and complement the public system.

Perhaps from an examination of the experience of others, and from a careful review of our own "usable past", we can construct a more satisfactory future.

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THROUGH THE LEARNING GLASS: THE UNIVERSITIES

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Through the Learning Glass: The Universities

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The gradual shift from the preoccupation with education, characteristic of the best part of this century, to a new preoccupation with learning, has been, in the past decade, increasing in momentum. Though the development began during the nineteen-sixties, particularly in North America, the first milestone was provided by the publication of the UNESCO Report, "Learning to Be", a Report on the Present and Future of Education (Paris, 1973).

Impressed by the unprecedented investment in education by the nations of the world that had followed the end of World War II, UNESCO, in the late nineteen-sixties, set out to estimate the impact of that investment, and to assess future prospects. As in the case of the investment itself, no such assessment of education on a world scale had been undertaken before. The investors themselves were by that time already experiencing some quite unanticipated outcomes of their programs of educational growth - discontented students in numbers never before experienced; embattled administrators and teaching staffs; and increasingly restless electorates whose members wondered, understandably, what had become of the industrious, well-motivated, and grateful student, for whose preparation for adulthood all of this largesse had been provided. They also were discovering the apparently limitless appetites of the educational systems stimulated by this investment as they - the accumulated schools, colleges, and universities - began to show promise of consuming not just the lion's share of the public treasure, but very nearly all of it.

Impressed and indeed somewhat alarmed by these and other developments, the Report offered a radical shift in the perspective for dealing with these matters. It argued that the consideration of "learning" was a more fundamental, and more useful point of departure than was education. It could serve as a more precise and more effective tool of analysis than could education; as a superior means for understanding and assisting "development". In addition, the examiners recommended that the increased contributions to our understanding of learning from a greater and greater variety of fields of enquiry, for example, neurology, physics, chemistry, zoology, etc., provided the grounds for the establishment of learning as a "free-standing" field of study as distinct from its present state as a sub-sector of psychology. The new field of enquiry was to be named "Mathetics".

Since that time, though to our knowledge no independent units of "Mathetics" have yet appeared in universities or other teaching bodies in the world, interest in the application of the learning perspective has grown steadily. In 1985, a Global Learning Symposium, sponsored by the United Nations University, the Canadian International Development Agency, and the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, was held in Toronto. Approximately fifty scholars and field workers from a variety of disciplines and occupations from all over the world, gathered to pool, for the first time, their knowledge of and experience with learning. The fact that the discussions were held in the context of "development" is in itself of interest, since it suggests that learning taken in its broadest sense is a concept of both evanascence and ubiquity, requiring a specific context each time it is seriously examined. The significant point to this exposition is that the context need not, and perhaps over the next decade or so, ought not to be of an educational nature.[1] (see Thomas & Ploman (Ed.) Learning and Development, OISE, Toronto, 1985.

A current development in the emergence of the "learning perspective" is the argument that learning is a powerful tool for the analysis of societies, groups and cultures (see: Learning in Society: Toward a New Paradigm, Canadian Commission for UNESCO, Ottawa, 1985). In a world in which the most frequent and distinguishing term to be applied to nations is the term "Developing" or some variant of it, it is not surprising that learning takes on a new significance. In the past decade it has gradually come to be accepted that economic and social development, to say nothing of political, is not some impersonal process of the manipulation of economic and technical instruments, but the outcome of the involvement of as many members of the society as possible in transforming their environments, and in parallel and in consequence, themselves.

Therefore, the questions of who is learning what, under what circumstances, utilizing what resources, with what results, and to what ends, are the most critical questions any society can address. Answers to those questions can provide the most important information any government, and any society may possess, of far greater importance than the information reflected by current "indicators" such as gross national product, or those of employment/unemployment and inflation.

Despite their familiarity, largely due to constant repetition, these measures represent highly impersonal fluctuations of behaviour which seem beyond the control, if not the comprehension, of most individuals in the society. In contrast, a learning index, made up of measures of participation by individuals in learning endeavours, including participation in formal education, accompanied by information on the objectives being pursued, would provide much more personal, comprehensible information about the minds and hearts and hopes of citizens. It would also provide insight into the real future of the society, since what is learned today becomes the foundation of tomorrow's activities. Until the distinction between learning and education is more widely accepted and acted upon, however, we will continue to be obsessed not with what is being learned, but with what is being taught, that is, what the educational system is currently providing.

While this type of information does tell us the ways in which a widely dispersed system of education is trying to cope with the achievement of the perceived intellectual, social and economic goals of the society, it tells us next to nothing about the degree to which those objectives are being achieved, and less about the degree to which they are reflected by the learning aspirations of the citizens. Under present circumstances, the two are frequently confused, and, by and large, it is in the interest of the educational sector to confuse them. It is a confusion that conceals the true dynamics of our society, a confusion which becomes increasingly costly.

The foregoing represents only a means of introducing the distinction between the concepts of learning and education, and of providing an example of the implications of using them independently of each other. For purposes of further clarification, in this context, we are using learning to mean an activity, in which all living organisms engage to varying degrees throughout their life spans. Education on the other hand, is a collective enterprise by means of which the individual capacity for learning is directed towards particular social objectives.

For nearly a century and a half as our societies have grown constantly larger and have committed themselves ever more completely to the application of scientific knowledge in the form of technological innovation and development with undeniable and often unimagined benefits to human life, they have committed themselves with equal enthusiasm to education. It is frequently argued that the two commitments are inseparable; one would not or could not occur without the other. However, recent developments, not the least of which has been the extension of the faith in education to large portions of the population other than the children and young people (for evidence of the degree of that extension in Canada see, for example: One in Every Five: A Survey of Adult Education in Canada, Statistics Canada, Department of Secretary of State, Ottawa, Minister of Supply and Services, 1985: From the Adult's Point of View: CAAE/ICEA, Toronto, CAAE 1982; and Campbell, D., The New Majority, University of Alberta Press, Edmonton, 1984), have served to reinforce the conclusions of the UNESCO Report that it is really learning in which we should be interested and upon which we are dependent, rather than education. A further conclusion is that there have been in the past, and remain, other means of reaching learning objectives than those that are presently included within the term education. The immediate result of these discoveries has been a decline in political enthusiasm for education, and the redirection of funds that previously have been totally committed to that enterprise, to other means of reaching goals associated with individuals transforming themselves through learning.

Understandably these new strategies have produced confusion, consternation, and even outrage, not the least in the educational sector itself. Having enjoyed two and a half decades of unprecedented public affection and financial support, the present educational leaders seem unable to understand why both have declined, and unwilling to entertain much less accept the conclusion that there are other, perhaps better means to achieve particular learning goals than those represented by the system(s) of formal education. What seems to be the case is that we have reached the limits of what the existing formal systems can provide, and no amount of money allocated to those systems will contribute to the solutions of our most pressing social problems, among which are the preservation of peace, the satisfactory management of employment and economic development, and the development of citizenship appropriate to our evolving political realities.

Therefore, if the familiar educational providing agencies are no longer to be the sole "baskets" for the learning "eggs" of society, two questions must be addressed. What other means are appropriate for the development and delivery of learning goals, and how should we distinguish between the learning goals that can be entrusted to these other agencies and those that are properly the preserve of the formal educational agencies. Complete answers to these two questions are beyond the scope of this and any other single paper.

To the first question, the answer can only be provisional, subject to constant revision. Once the universe of formally designated, educational providing agencies is left behind, the range of vehicles is limited only by the range of organizations existing in the society. For example, both Federal and Provincial governments in Canada have embarked on major programs of allocating funds to non-educational agencies for the achievement of particular learning objectives. Specific types of vocational training are being increasingly entrusted to employers; responsibility for developing skills in the management of labour organizations have been entrusted to labour organizations themselves (see Thomas, Abbey, McKeracher, Labour Canada's Labour Education Program: An Evaluation of the First Four Years, Labour Canada, 1982) and there are legions of voluntary organizations to whom the achievement of specific learning objectives, for example water safety, is entrusted by various levels of government.

These new initiatives at present represent very modest expenditures compared to those devoted to public education, nevertheless they cry out for description and analysis. But it is still too early in the game for conclusions. One immediate observation is that these non-educational agencies have prior relationships with the learners, in the sense that they are already employees, or members, relationships which contribute to the efficiency of the learning: they are uniquely acquainted with the skills to be developed, and they are the most prominent utilizers or employers of individuals who have acquired the skills in question. In contrast, the educational providing agencies work only in terms of one role, that of "students", and they must deal with the required skills in circumstances that are removed from their source and their functional utilization. We have not recently given much attention to the dimensions of the "student" role, or of its general functionality within the society as a whole. Therefore the answers to either of the two questions are not simple or immediately forthcoming, but they are the right questions to be asking, and to be trying to answer in a systematic way.

It is to making a beginning on the answers that this paper is addressed. It is in this case addressed to only one segment of the educational "system", the university, and it will proceed by asking a question that up until now has been regarded as frivolous, impertinent, or simply irrelevant. The question is, what are the relationships between the university and learning, and perhaps, by inference, what should they be?

"(a) Extending the frontiers of knowledge through research at the highest level; (b) passing on that knowledge to succeeding generations through teaching." (International Encyclopedia of Education, Pergamon Press, Toronto, 1985, Volume 9, p. 5375) Almost anyone will recognize this traditional definition of the function and mission of the university. It represents the two predominant modes of learning with which the university has historically associated in the western world.

In the first case we have learning identified as "research" which is in effect learning that occurs without the benefit of teaching. Learning that does not result from teaching is not confined to the universities. In fact it is the most widely spread kind of learning to be found in any contemporary society (see Allan Tough, Adult Learning Projects, OISE Press, Toronto, 1979). Sometimes it is described as invention, sometimes as discovery; most often in the forms of casual or everyday learning in which some individual acquires a skill or understanding or knowledge that he or she has not acquired previously. Sometimes the results are dramatic; most often they go unnoticed except by the individual and his or her immediate surroundings.

In the case of the university, the learning is highly organized and defined by specific methodology, and its purpose is to learn something that no one else has ever known before. That is to say that it cannot derive from teaching since no one knows the outcome of the learning endeavour. It is a demanding, sometimes exasperating, and very exciting form of learning that has characterized in one way or another the history of the curiosity and imagination of mankind. Though the term "research" has in recent years spread widely in popular conversation, it continues to retain a "mystique" as the preserve of a small, dedicated, highly trained, and talented elite. In research at its purest, the learner can be perceived as "explorer", in the case of the natural sciences, and perhaps as "spy" in the case of the social sciences.

Research has been traditionally associated with the independent activity of gifted individual members of this elite, or perhaps elites, pursuing the prompting of their own curiosity and imagination without restraint. However, since the middle of this century, in fact since the Second World War demonstrated the immense benefits to be derived from organized, concerted, large scale research, most governments in the world have come to view research as part of a developmental strategy, and have begun to try to direct those curiosities and imaginations primarily by financial means. What university research has gained in resources it is in constant danger of losing in self-determination.

The primary model of the university in which research plays so prominent a role stems from the early years of the nineteenth century and most prominently with the foundation of the University of Berlin. "The University of Berlin was united with the Royal Academy in 1809 and became the foremost center of 'learning' during the nineteenth century. Its greatness stemmed from the following characteristics: the university was not subject to the maintenance of any creed or philosophic orientation; its professors and students were free to seek truth and knowledge as they understood them; the university was dedicated to the search for truth, and its emminent teachers were world-renowned scholars in their fields..... One of the most important legacies of this view of the university is the belief that impartial investigation and research, along with teaching are the main functions of an institution of higher learning and that the true professor is the dedicated teacher/scholar." (International Encyclopedia of Higher Education, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, 1977, p. 2034)

This model, which western universities have tried to emulate, principally by means of the introduction and advancement of the graduate school, depends upon a unity of teaching and learning that involves a relatively small number of students directly in the work of the emminent teacher. That is to say that it depends for its success on the degree to which the student can be involved in learning with the minimum of teaching, in fact a system that approached the practices of apprenticeship. The learning of the teacher/scholar at its best is not conveyed to students by means of the devices of instruction, but was shared with individuals who aproximated the role of junior colleagues.

There is some considerable difference between the shared learning of colleagues and the learning associated with the task of instruction, in turn associated in the western universities with the instruction of undergraduates. In this case the role of "student" predominates, and because we have continued to confuse it with the role of graduate student/ colleague, we have not given it the contemporary attention it deserves. It is essentially a subordinate, dependent, and second-hand role, devoted to "psyching-out the system" in the pursuit of evaluations controlled by others, and learning ideas, attitudes, practices and skills that are already known by someone else. Above all it means accepting not so much the content of provided material, as ideas of what knowledge is important, and what is the proper relationship of knowledge to action and "future" life. Student life is nothing but a life of futures. The exploring and spying has already been done by someone else. In turn the university teacher tends to become captured by the demands of the student. Teaching tends to become not a sharing of exploration, but the presentation of relatively standardized materials usually provided in texts produced by others, and the expectation of standardized results. While the means of instruction are collective, classes, years, etc., the measurement is always in individual terms. Group grading is rare. While this should permit, indeed demand a high degree of individual exchange between instructor and student, numbers of students, and the present financial state and educational role of the university, as far as undergraduate students is concerned, makes this next to impossible.

Despite these difficulties, the essential "mystique" of the university, the pleasures of collective student life, and the widespread certifying power of the university makes the drawbacks for the student at least, tolerable. For the university professor it is another story. It is extremely difficult for the average teacher of undergraduates to combine the demands of the learning associated with students with the demands of learning associated with research and the publishing of that research. Nevertheless, the basic rewards for the contemporary academic are associated with achievements in the latter pursuits. As a result both suffer, and university professors have been obliged to seek a variety of collective protections that insulate them from the reward system strictly and exclusively applied.

There is a third learning mode with which universities have been associated, though it has varied so extensively from period to period and from country to country that it is only rarely recognized as having either legitimacy within or influence on the university. In this case we are referring to the universities response to an entirely different constituency, that is, those learners who reside outside of the role of formal student and who have been traditionally reached by means of "extension", "extra-mural studies", or the more popular contemporary term, "continuing studies".

There has been enormous variation in this practice, with some European universities not participating at all, and some North American universities being heavily influenced by their extension activities. In this case the learning takes on a different cast, for there are no "credit" restrictions demanding uniform programs and formal evaluation, and few if any systematic gradations to pursue. The integrity of the learner is much more in evidence, since frequently it is he or she, rather than the representative of the university, who defines the problem to be addressed. In this case therefore the promise of mutual learning is very much greater, since the representative of the university must pay attention to the validity of the learner's experience, and try to adapt his or her expertise to an effective response to that experience. What this means is that there is an opportunity not only for the individual university representative to learn from the attempt to apply his or her knowledge to existing problems, but for the university itself to discover new areas of significance and therefore of possible exploration and study that are emerging in the lives of the general population. There are interesting examples in North America of the emergence of whole new university faculties as a result of experience gained through extension work. In this case the learning roles can be characterized as "invader" on the part of the members or public and as "colonist/explorer" on the part of the university personnel.

The task of the university, unlike any other educational providing agency, is to keep some precarious balance between the demands of these three modes of learning. In this case the history of the university is instructive.

Even the language of the history of higher education is instructive for our purposes, since the authors use two terms, "centers of learning" and "centers of higher education" almost as though they were interchangeable. However, an examination of the details indicates that they are not, and that the history of higher education indicates both a clear distinction between the two, and an almost constant alternation between one and the other.

"The Helenistic period was also an age of great scientific enquiry. Unlike philosophy and rhetoric, where students sought out great teachers and entered into formal relationships with them, the teachers of the sciences remained less formal. Great teachers attracted a number of students but no systematic institution of instuction emerged. One of the great centers of scientific enquiry was the Museum established by the Ptolemy rulers of Egypt in Alexandria in the 3rd Century B.C. Here the major subjects that received attention were astronomy, geometry, phsyics and geography. The museum, however, was more a center of research than of teaching, and if any instruction was given it was to a few individual students, similar to modern graduate seminars." (International Encyclopedia of Higher Education, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, 1977, p. 2023)

In the middle ages a new and more familiar pattern emerged. "Although the great ancient civilizations - Greece, Rome, Byzantium, Islamic - all had excellent centers of learning, higher education with prescribed curricula, formal examinations, faculties, and degrees is the result of our medieval institutions." (Ibid, p. 2026) A popular misconception is that university development since that time, with the major addition of the German universities' commitment to pure research, has been of an uninterrupted incremental nature. However, that is not the case, and it is not the case precisely with respect to the abilities of the universities to combine their vaunted commitment to the two major types of learning, represented by the "Museum" of Ptolemaic Egypt, and the "university of the middle ages."

Four hundred years later, after the rise of the medieval university, "The most obvious indication that the universities of the Enlightenment era were not in the forefront of intellectual activity is the fact that most of the progress made during the period in the sciences, philosophy, and other areas of enquiry, was accomplished outside the institutions of higher education... in general the universities were not the centers of higher learning. For example, the major French philosophers were not university professors. Many of the intellectuals of the period did their research and writing at a number of important centers of scholarship that emerged parallel to and supplementing the work of the institutions of higher education. These were the academies, scientific and scholarly, which grew up in most European countries and flourished during the enlightenment." (Ibid, p. 2032) It is to be recalled that the University of Berlin began its period of supremacy after it had been united with the Royal Academy in 1909.

The "unity of research and teaching", still presented as the unique and essential mission of the university, seems extremely difficult to maintain. Despite the achievements of the University of Berlin, beginning early in the nineteenth century and providing to this day an almost mythical model of the university, the difficulties have remained. Ironically, the very stimulus given to research by the example of the University of Berlin, led to the growth of a "feeling, widespread in Europe by the end of the nineteenth century, that research in an increasing number of fields could no longer be effectively pursued in the universities because they required too complex an organization; were too advanced for students; and did not have the intellectual coherence of a discipline, or had an applied orientation ..... initial response to the difficulties in the accommodation of new fields and new types of research in European universities was the establishment of non-university research institutes ... in biology, the first was the Institute Pasteur established in Paris in 1888." (International Encyclopedia of Education, Pergamon Press, Toronto, 1985, p. 5384) "University research in these latter countries - the United Kingdom, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, the Soviet Union - continues to be plagued by difficulties resulting from the fact that the majority of undergraduates are uninterested in research, as is an unknown but significant part of the faculty. In many of these countries some of the best research units are to be found in non-university institutions." (Ibid p. 5386)

The exception to these developments until more recently could be found in the United States and to some extent Canada. The belief that new types of research could not be accommodated within the university that grew in Europe at the end of the last century, "...was not shared in the United States. Here the university, or rather its graduate departments, were able to enquire into all fields of scientifically important research." (Ibid p. 5384)

However, by the second half of the twentieth century difficulties were being experienced in American and Canadian universities in maintaining the relationship between the two types of learning. One factor was simply growth, particularly at the undergraduate level. In the nineteen-fifties and sixties, world enrollment in universities increased by as much as 12% per year (Ibid p. 5386) with the vast bulk of that increase being experienced in the developed countries, and therefore in the United States and Canada. "This means that as far as native abilities, scholastic preparation, and kinds and levels of vocational destination are concerned, universities are teaching today a more heterogeneous student body than ever before." (Ibid p. 5386) The demands of that teaching have steadily interfered with the ability to maintain some functional relationship between advanced research and teaching, steadily increasing the competing demands on the time of academic personnel.

Not only are there substantial differences between undergraduate and graduate students, but the climate of the graduate school offers sharp distinction in the sense that much of the teaching is in the methodology and technique of research, making most graduate schools the most prestigious technical-vocational agencies in the entire educational system. A reflection of this disparity is to be found in a recent plea for attention to the needs of small universities in Canada in the face of the growing inclinations of sponsors of large scale research to prefer only large universities. "For while there are conflicting signs as to what may happen in the larger institutions, there is evidence that research money for smaller places may be increasingly hard to secure." (Perkin, J., Research in Small Universities, The Canadian Journal of Higher Education, Vol. 15, No. 3, 1985, p. 1-4) The author continues... "All these lead me to make a dangerously over-simplified distinction between research which is teaching oriented, and research which is research-oriented. When studied, this distinction may turn out to be as important as the more common distinction between pure and applied research." (Ibid p. 3) This attempt to restore the unity of the two kinds of learning is likely to lead to the development of research (teaching-oriented) that reflects the composition and interests of the existing student body, as distinct from research that is determined by quite other demands and interests and is therefore, by its presence in the university, intended to challenge the biases and expectations of that student body. Nevertheless, it is an interesting attempt to deal with the problems of maintaining the traditional image and mission of the university.

The second source of difficulty, and the more recent, is the decline in support for the universities by the political system(s), and the resulting scarcity of resources.

"Nevertheless universities grappling with the problems of popular higher education are having increasing difficulties in mustering resources for research and are at an increasing disadvantage compared to specialized professional schools, research institutes, and industrial research laboratories." (International Encyclopedia of Education, p. 5386) The demands of the learning of students are immediate, real, and present; the demands of the learning associated with research are disparate, future-oriented, and not very visible to very many.

A somewhat jaundiced and uncomprehending publication in Canada, The Great Brain Robbery (Bercuson, D.J., Bothwell, R., and Granatstein, J.: The Great Brain Robbery: Canada's Universities on the Road to Ruin, Toronto, McLelland and Stewart, 1984) reflected all of the dismay and impatience of faculty members who regret the fact that the university has become to such an extent a part of the upward extension of the education system, and commensurately so much less reflective of the downward extension of the activities and interests of faculty engaged in advanced research. No expose better demonstrates the way in which teaching and, to a degree, research interest are influenced by the changing nature of the student body.

What then is the mission of the university when it is viewed through the learning glass? To what degree can it be entrusted with the functional combination of the interests of the two kinds of learning that it insists it is uniquely qualified to do, and to what extent is it of great importance to try to combine them in a single institution.

The record as reflected in the historical review is not impressive with respect to the preservation of the unity of research and teaching. There are some enthralling moments - the rise of the universities in the medieval period in

Europe, the triumph of the University of Berlin, and the most recent achievements of the North American graduate department - but in terms of the centuries involved the unity seems more the exception than the rule. There is of course merit in pursuing an ideal that cannot quite be totally achieved, or that is never permanently achieved but continues to manifest even occasional spectacular moments. But there is equal merit in acknowledging that a once compelling vision is no longer appropriate, even if it might return, and in searching for an alternative that has equal power to inflame imaginations and engender the best of human efforts. Can we expect the universities to be detached and scientific about themselves?

The exceptions seem to reflect several conditions. The idea appears to have been closest to fulfillment when the organizations were relatively small, and when the opportunities for reasonably intimate exchange between a leading scholar and his or her students, or junior colleagues, were at their maximum. It also seems to be reflective of a "new beginning", a sense of adventure and creation, when learning independent of teaching is always at its zenith, when a dominant figure predominated, and indeed, acted in an environment where the influence of a single individual could actually be felt. On the other hand, the record also suggests that the attainment of such unity is brief, and that there are powerful and inescapable forces that undermine and erode it.

In contrast, with some exceptions - for example, the British universities in the sixteenth century, and the German during the Nazi period - the history of the universities presents almost unbroken growth in catering to the learning demands of the students, that is, in providing advanced education of social value, and in providing a certifying mechanism for the development and protection of the community in which the university exists. It would appear in the light of the phenomenal growth in teaching that has characterized the years since 1950, that the ability to combine the two types of learning has declined with commensurate speed.

Can it be argued that fundamentally the demands of the two types of learning as represented by undergraduate teaching and engagement in research are antithetic to each other; that contemporary universities are living a myth which deceives nearly everyone but the undergraduate students? Is it also possible that the myth is destructive of both interests?

The European experience since the turn of the century seems to support that view. The North American experience, insofar as the existence of graduate departments within universities can be said to "inform", the entire university enterprise, would, until very recently seem to contradict it. However, the critical matter is the degree to which the effects of involvement of graduate professors, and graduate students in research "trickle down" to influence the lives of undergraduates. Existing evidence is not encouraging. There are of course notable, individual exceptions, but, the question really is the degree to which this is generally true, and whether the continuation of the myth can be based on a few exceptions.

Clearly the university can and should be entrusted with the systematic provisions of advanced education. What this involves is prolonged, graded, public and certifiable exposure of individuals - one is tempted to say young people, but indications are that the age of full-time university students is steadily rising, and there is no defensible argument that participation in university programs should be confined to the young - to instruction that allows them to develop themselves in both vocational and general terms. There are examples of such tertiary agencies in the United

States, colleges and small universities that make little or no pretentions to research, but which do provide first class instruction, and indeed, supply considerable numbers of candidates for the graduate departments of large universities, and probably, though there is no evidence, for the great variety of "research institutes" which have grown up in both the United States and Canada in recent years. While they vary enormously in "quality" it does not appear to be any relationship with research that determines the variation.

The emergence of more universities whose declared primary aim is teaching would do a great deal to improve the quality of undergraduate student instruction which may not need, after all, to be based on some presumed unity of teaching and research. This would necessitate a change in the reward and evaluation system among the professors, and reduce the pretence of contribution to original research which at least officially dominates the lives of all university teaching personnel. To some degree this is already happening, though in the face of what seem to be unnecessary risks. "Some institutions have de-emphasized publication in order to give greater attention to students. In a number of universities, it is possible for a faculty member to get tenure or promotion, even to full professor, on the basis of teaching excellence, and other professional accomplishment, without substantial numbers of publications. Insofar as these institutions reveal their values through their tenure and promotion policies, such institutions reveal a set of values somewhat different than those which are embedded in the Ontario Council of Graduate Schools Appraisals process - with consequent risk to their faculty when the latter are subjected to appraisals." (Skolnik: The Forum, Ontario Council of University Faculty Associations, January/February 1986, page 3) But what, according to the author, has not happened, is the adjustment of the system to allow for alternative university standards.

However, the value, the excitement, the magic that seems to be associated with learning that does not result from teaching, continues to assert itself. If it cannot be maintained for undergraduate students, and it is pretty clear that it is not being maintained, then should it not at least be part of the lives of their instuctors? Here, perhaps, we should return to the argument for "research which is teaching oriented" which, despite its drawbacks, ought still to be required as part of the instructors' responsibilities and which would be evaluated on the basis of its contributions to the quality of teaching rather than on the basis of its contribution to original knowledge with all of the exclusive and complicated procedure that that involves. Some of the instuctors' excitement that derives from such learning would be inevitably shared with the students.

We have, so far, examined only the impact on teaching of the admission of the impossibility of maintaining the unity of teaching and research in the contemporary university. What about the effect on research itself. While some professors claim that much of their research and writing is stimulated by regular contact with undergraduate students, the sentiment does not seem to be widely shared. In addition, while the quality of all research projects is subjected to unending debate, there seems no prima facie case that research done by the other agencies mentioned is inevitably of lesser quality or less self-determining than that conducted by the universities. To be sure, in the case of private institutions, and perhaps especially industrial laboratories, there are problems of ownership and public access. But the same problems exist to a lesser degree admittedly, whenever universities become engaged in government sponsored research, which occupies a larger and larger share of university research time, partly because it commands larger and larger budgets. There seems no reason to believe that the quality, volume, and freedom of research will necessarily be enhanced by insisting that every member of the teaching staff of a university, indeed that every university, be engaged in it. The protection of freedom, and from secrecy and unreasonable advantage would seem to require appropriate procedures for any society, and ought not to be dependent only on the presence of the university in the system. Even private owners, no matter how wealthy or powerful, cannot command entirely the imaginations, talents, and consciences, in fact the learning, of their highly skilled employees.

It would appear that the society would benefit from the acknowledged existence of a variety of vehicles for research, just as it would benefit from a variety of vehicles of university level teaching.

At the outset we defined a third learning for which the university has, somewhat unevenly, been responsible. This is the learning of members of the community with which a particular university identifies. In this case the learning may be of a purely individual nature, or it may be with individuals in groups. Rarely is the student role characteristic of this relationship; more often individuals present themselves as members. It is only rarely prolonged, as in the case of students; it is rarely graded, though the famous Workers Educational Association in the United Kingdom is an outstanding exception on both previous characteristics, and it is rarely certified. It is of a more private than public character, in the sense that the programs are much more frequently subject to a type of negotiation between teacher and learner, than is the case with formal students. World-wide the contributions of universities have been uneven to say the least.

In some countries, for example Denmark, there is no tradition at all, and in others, for example the "land-grant" institutions of the United States, it has been a major thrust of the universities. In most cases the programs have involved a minor contribution of university resources, and in some cases have had to be entirely self-supporting. Nevertheless, despite the chequered history, some activity involving moving beyond the conventional relationships of the university based on the other two types of learning, has shown a remarkable persistence, and it appears as though there were some continuing forces, sometimes if only the consciences and energy of particular professors, that have provided support. While, with the exception of the land-grant institutions, there has been little official demand placed upon the universities, it does appear that the world of the present and future will make the need for such university response greater than it has been in the past. The rising level of educational attainment, and the much wider access to learning resources than has been the case in the past, suggests that there is an increasing population capable of university level work who need not, or cannot, assume the formal role of student.

There is no evidence that the problem of maintaining the unity of research and teaching, or the commitment to research and/or teaching necessarily has affected the participation of the university in this third role. In either case, the role has been perceived to be of minor consequence among the responsibilities of the university. However, if we are to evolve some universities with acknowledged primary commitments to teaching, there is every reason to believe that more attention could and should be given to this third type of learning. In fact, a sizeable part of the "research oriented to teaching" could be seen to come legitimately from such activities, where the faculty could engage in more mutual learning than is usually the case with formal students. It is true that the distribution of such differences between universities with different perceptions of their primary responsibilities might deny to some regions local service and access. However, new techniques of "learning-at-a-distance" which have an interactive capacity lacking before, can easily overcome these difficulties.

Learning is a useful analytic tool, and useful even in examining educational providing agencies. The educational enterprise, by nature, becomes preoccupied with what it is teaching, and often unaware of and indifferent to learning needs that are not accommodated by its choices. While no one denies the importance of leadership function of educational providing agencies in the sense that they cannot respond to every one and every need, there is no excuse for their being ignorant of the needs that they will not or cannot fulfill. In both the long and short run, it is the learning that matters, and the forms or types of it that are provided for or not provided for in any society are a critical concern. It does appear to be time for the universities to re-assess publicly their particular contributions to learning.

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[1] The collected papers of the Global Learning Symposium, under the title Learning and Development, are available from the OISE Press, OISE, Toronto, Canada.

British Women With Interrupted Technological Careers:

Societal Attitudes and Patterns of Childhood Socialization

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I. Introduction

Concern has been expressed in many western countries about the under-representation of women as engineers, scientists, and technologists. The Science Council of Canada in a report titled Who Turns The Wheel (The Science Council of Canada, 1982) noted the enormous difference between the degrees of participation of men and women in scientific professions in Canada. Similarly, The National Science Foundation in the U.S.A. reported that females of all racial and ethnic groups were under-represented in the science and engineering work force (National Science Foundation, 1984). In Sweden, while women take 83 percent of the places in the medical and paramedical sector, only 18 percent in the technical sector are women (Elgquist-Saltzman, 1985; Granstam, 1983).

In Britain, 1984 was declared WISE Year (Women into Science and Education) by the Equal Opportunities Commission and the Engineering Council. In 1980, the Finniston Committee in Britain reported that less than 1/2 percent of the current stock of engineers were women (Swarbrick, 1984:2). In 1984, just over one percent of chartered engineers were women, with the greatest number being in the younger age groups, although the number of female under-graduates was considerably higher; 2.3 percent of technicians employed in the engineering industry were women, with over 4 percent female technicians as trainees (Chivers et al, 1984:9).

Why should the apparent avoidance by young girls and women of technological occupations and their educational pre-requisites be a concern? Evidence from Canada suggests that a major reason is that new technologies can be expected to have a marked impact upon the service sector and of the nature of clerical work, areas traditionally dominated by women (Menzies; 1981, 1982). Microelectronics has already had a traumatic displacement effect upon traditional female employment in banks, telephone companies and other clerical areas. However, there is evidence in some countries that a smaller proportion of young people,

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I am indebted to Alisa Swarbrick of The Open University who designed the "WIT" Program for her assistance in helping me contact the women of this study.

and especially girls, are taking appropriate math and science pre-requisites in secondary school now than in the past. Having such pre-requisites would enable young women to be eligible for those post-secondary programs producing the skilled personnel needed for the expanding job market created as a result of technological innovation (Science Council of Canada, 1982).

Further Canadian evidence show that women are not only more likely to be employed part-time and part-year, but are more likely to have experienced unemployment than men (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1984). Furthermore, it has been estimated that the number of Canadian families below the poverty line would increase by fifty percent if women were not working (Science Council of Canada). Thus the spectre of women training for non-traditional technological job sectors is more than a self-actualization exercise for individual women but has important societal consequences for families as well.

Why do young girls tend to avoid math and science courses in secondary schools? The answer to this question is a complex one. A 1975 American study, the National Assessment of Educational Progress, reported that males showed higher achievement than females in mathematics, science, social studies and citizenship (Warren, 1979). The director of that study maintained that there were subtle and not so subtle forces operating within the educational system and within society in general that ultimately affect female educational achievement. The not so subtle forces include the obvious gender-related structures (e.g. wood working courses for boys only, and home economic courses for girls only).

However, the subtle forces are less easy to detect. Such forces involve the early socialization processes in which learned values and attitudes which have psychological and social dimensions with emotional components affect and shape the views of self carried by each of us. The complexity of this problem, because of its very subtlety, suggests the need for qualitative as well as quantitative methods to investigate this problem. One way to obtain insights into the problem is to study the early socialization experiences of women who have prepared for a scientific or technological career in school. What kind of socialization experiences encouraged them?

II. The Methodological Background of the Study

The study reported upon here examined the early socialization processes of British women who prepared themselves for technological or scientific courses and who later interrupted those courses for family reasons. Written life history material of 94 women was the main source of data although first person transcribed interviews also were collected of twelve of these women.

Following the sociological interactionist tradition of George Herbert Mead, the prime purpose of the collection of this biographical data was not to obtain the individual stories of the women per se, but rather to obtain the themes of commonality (themes established through social interaction) which then affected the shape of the individual lives. As Mead notes:

> In experience the individual perspectives arise out of a common perspective. The common perspective is not built up out of individual perspectives.
>
> (Mead, 1938:111)

Similarly, Franco Feranotti notes that while the biographical method has always directed itself to the individual, the individual is not the founder of the social but rather its sophisticated product (Feranotti, 1981:26). Thus, individuals are products of their culture, and their collective lives but reflect or comment upon the socialization norms and values of that culture.

Used extensively in the early 1900's by sociologists influenced by the Chicago School of Sociology, the life history approach later fell out of favour but has had a renewal of interest today among sociologists and oral historians affected by the resurgence of interest in verstehen and phenomenological approaches. Life history approaches are particularly useful when one is concerned about obtaining insights into the perspectives of situations as viewed by the participants themselves. Such approaches are of special value in obtaining the perspectives of minorities or of those whose behaviour has been assessed as deviant by the dominant norms of their society. Furthermore, the ethnographic documentation of the lives of those studied allows one to obtain a humanistic sense of those lives as well as a more strictly scientific analysis. For these reasons, this author has used life history approaches in the study of British and Canadian physicians and audiotypists, and new Canadian women immigrants, and has reported elsewhere on the methodological considerations. (Warren, 1979, 1982, 1985, 1986). Sociologists such as Howard Becker, Norman Denzin, and Ken Plummer have written extensively about life history methodology and readers are referred to their works. (Becker, 1970; Denzin, 1970; Plummer, 1983.)

III. The Biographical Data Collection

The 94 women of this study were four cohorts of British women who enrolled in a returner's skills program called Women in Technology ("WIT") from 1981-1984. The program was sponsored by The Open University, Loughborough University, and by The Manpower Services Commission. The program consisted of a counselling component as well as numerous courses in technological areas. It was especially designed to allow women in all parts of Britain with an educational background and experience in engineering, science, or technology to prepare themselves for re-entry into the technological work force. (While the first three cohorts were mostly women with engineering/technological backgrounds, the last cohort (1984) did include some women with a strong interest but limited training or experience in a technological field).

Open-ended interviews were first conducted with twelve women in the London area and the tapes were transcribed. Then, all of the 150 women, residing in most parts of Britain, were sent a questionnaire including twelve open-ended questions which when answered, constituted a written biographical or life history account. In total, 94 (62%) of the women completed a written or oral biographical account.

Most of the women had qualifications as engineering technicians, technical engineers, or as chartered engineers; some had research degrees in chemistry, physics, and mathematics, and many had had experiences working on research projects at universities or in industry. It should be noted that there are two possible routes toward engineering accreditation in Britain: via "A" level examinations/Degree/Chartered Engineer; or via "O" level examinations/HNC (Higher National Certificate)/HND (Higher National Diploma). The latter route is one followed by those wishing to have work experience (and paid employment) combined with "sandwich" courses (part-time studies); the former is one primarily followed by those electing a more academic route as full-time students.

The median age of the women was 36 years. All but three of the women were currently married (the other three were divorced or separated). All of the women with a technological background had children; over half had two children, and the majority had two to four children ten years of age or younger. The ages of the children ranged from 19 years to two months. Five women were British nationals.

The occupations of the fathers of the women in the study were all from social classes I, II, or III with a tendency toward social classes I and II. While more than half of the women reported their mothers were housewives when they were growing up, about a quarter indicated their mothers had worked full-time or part-time, and several had had mothers who were certified engineers. Almost half of the spouses of the women were in a technological or scientific occupation.

IV. Conceptual Framework and Findings

Interactionist theory tells us that the self is a social self, one developed through interaction with others: significant others (family, friends, spouses, lovers) and generalized others (a composite of the norms and values expressed by the culture of institutions. The personalized accounts of the socialization experiences of the women in the study demonstrate the importance of the significant others in their lives as children and as adults, particularly with respect to the development of their interest in science, maths, and technology.

The accounts also illustrate the considerable buffeting and conflict experienced by the developing self between the influence of significant others, and the impact of institutions with whom the women as girls and adults interacted. The findings allow one to view the patterns of early child-hood socialization and to note the extent to which those early childhood experiences predict the current dissatisfaction of the women with the adult model of interrupted work career.

Inherent in the interrupted career model are various structural constraints making the resolution of the interruption difficult. Reinforcing the structural constraints, or from a materialist viewpoint, their source, are certain attitudinal constraints, many of them attained from early child-hood experiences.

Because of the importance of these childhood experiences for developing adult attitudes, an emphasis will be given to describing those experiences.

The work of social psychologists strongly suggests that the precursors of the underachieving woman can be seen in the female child (Hoffman, 1975, Maccoby, 1970). For this reason, anecdotal information especially pertaining to early life experiences was encouraged. It was felt that it would be useful to obtain an ethnographic sense of the precursors of the achieving female in scientific and technological areas which could then be analyzed. An examination of the lives of such women who had acquired excellent scientific or technological qualifications as young people might better illuminate the early socialization patterns and attitudes in western culture which encourages (or discourages) the technological preparation of females. Thus, a major focus here will be upon the early childhood experiences and the cultural attitudes implicit in those experiences.

Part I will describe and analyze adult experiences and Part II will similarly address childhood experiences.

PART I: ADULT EXPERIENCES

The concept of interrupted career patterns of adult women

Life history approaches are valuable for obtaining a more wholistic view of the lives of those examined, a view which does not segment lives into work and personal life, but which allows a perspective in which the totality of one's life may be viewed as a career.

The particular life pattern adopted by an adult woman will depend not only on the woman and her commitment to career, but upon the opportunities available, the nature of the work, and the facilities or other supportive action available on the domestic front, including the attitudes, work, and family patterns, and personality of the husband. It also may involve a degree of luck, that is women finding husbands who are supportive of the life career pattern desired by the woman.

The Rapoports in a 1971 study of graduate women in Britain coined the term "dual career families" for those families who adopted a "continuous" pattern (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1971). With this pattern, the work careers (with vertical components) of both partners are viewed as being of equal importance as is the equal participation by both spouses in the managing of family. In the past, men's work was structured as though men did not have families. But with this model, family life for the men as well as for the women is of equal importance as are both of their work careers.

However, the "continuous" pattern with its dual career component is a minority pattern for women in British life. The more generally socially approved model especially for women with special skills or talents is that of the "interrupted" pattern, a pattern typical of the women in this study. Its value for the women may well be that it allows them to see the totality of their lives as careers, with an emphasis on the value of horizontal components such as full-time child-raising being more important than the promise but often ethereal prospects of vertical components inherent in the continuous work pattern. Furthermore, from their perspective it may well be that participating in the successive years of growth of one's children provides the women with a sense of vertical mobility in their life career.

Like the dual career model, however, the interrupted model too is not without its particular strains and stresses. In some cases, the women in this study might have chosen a dual career model had their earlier socialization prepared them for the importance of seeking an appropriate marriage partner; their earlier socialization also appears not to have prepared them for the realities of the structural difficulties as well as for the psychological difficulties (e.g. loss of confidence) of returning later to the work force.

Structural Constraints

A woman with a Ph.D. in biochemistry who lives in Hereford notes the structural constraints working against her return to the work force.

> My husband and I were 27 years old when we married. We waited five years till we were established in a job before having our first child. We now have three. But although I intend to pursue some career either in teaching or in industry, I now find little opportunity in either, due to age, sex, family, location and high unemployment nationally. (emphasis added)
>
> #73

Other structural features noted by the women as discouraging their continuous labour force participation included a lack of suitable creches and a lack of flex-time schedules in the technological work place. For these reasons, many women have tended to find transitional employment part-time or full-time in education, an employment sector whose structural features are often more amenable to the realities of the women's lives. However, for most of these women, teaching is not their preferred choice, and this seems particularly true for those who were chartered engineers.

Many of the women in this present study note the difficulty of establishing their own career again when their husbands' jobs involve frequent moves. Because of earlier prejudicial forces affecting the type of employment and the pay received by women, most of the couples early in their marital careers made decisions to move with the male spouse's job rather than the female's. In few cases was the job of the wife seen as equal or superior to the male's (despite her often equal or better qualifications) so that the decision to move with the male spouse was not really a decision but often an economic necessity; in other cases moves were used as opportunities to start or continue families. Some of the women now find themselves residing in relatively remote parts of Britain or in areas of high unemployment. Their earlier decision to remove themselves temporarily from the labour force was in some instances buttressed by a view that the employment possibilities in the future would be at least similar to those opportunities prevailing at the leaving time (a view not supported by the present day's reality of high unemployment).

Unlike the spouses in the dual-career family model, the male spouses of the women with interrupted careers see the prime managerial responsibility for children resting with their wives. Although on the whole, the women report their husbands are supportive and encouraging in their wives's aspirations to return to the labour force, their support generally is more ideological than pragmatic. It tends to consist of "helping" their wives in the husband's leisure time and seldom entails even a minimal re-structuring of their own work careers. For example:

> I wanted to marry and have a career and children. Problems have been that my husband is constantly moving for promotions and is away from home a lot. Also difficult pregnancies, weeks in hospital, tiny premature babies with feeding problems. Not the kind you can leave. My husband is in favour of my working but in practice he puts his career first every time, and it is up to me to manage it if I can.
>
> (#108)

Attitudinal Constraints

The lack of structural supports in British society for working mothers probably has served to promote and to re-inforce what has been referred to as the "myth of motherhood" (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1976; Oakley, 1974). Thus a major obstacle to career continuity patterns (or to career re-establishment) may symbolically be represented as an attitudinal one: Mother is the best person to care for young children; full-time care by the mother is in the best interests of the child and of society. Alternatively, one's own mother, if available, is also acceptable, although many women would take advantage of suitable creches if they were available at least on a part-time basis. The idea of child-minders seems less acceptable although au pairs among more affluent couples are mentioned. Coupled with the attitude that mother is best to care for young children often goes an attitude of wanting to enjoy the process of caring for one's own children.

Most of the women expressed the view that there was no contest between career and family, that having a family had always been of paramount importance over having a career. A mechanical engineer with four children presently teaches physics part-time in a girls' secondary school while waiting to return to industry full-time next year. She illustrates this view:

> ...my major priority was always to get married and have a family. That was number one. And if I had to have a choice (between family and career) there would be no choice..... If there hadn't been any other way, yes, I would have been prepared to give up my career...I'm not a career woman who had a family. I'm somebody who wanted a family, who also wanted a normal working life, like any man has. (emphasis added).

Other women said:

> It was a positive decision to have children and give up work. I had no intention of working while the children were small. Whilst I would be quite happy to sub-contract the "manual labour" of running a household to someone else, I feel that bringing up children is too important a task to leave to someone else. (emphasis added)
>
> (#79)

> I married an RAF pilot who I had been going with for about three years. I knew he wanted children and accepted that I would break my career to have them. I had them close together to make the break as small as possible. However, now that they are five and three, I am reluctant to start full-time work, just yet. I feel strongly now that a mother's role is important to society to ensure that our next generation are stable and

> worthwhile people. However, as soon as I can leave them, I shall start full-time work. Meantime, I do part-time.
>
> My husband is fully involved in all the decisions and when he leaves the RAF we may reverse roles. My decision of career versus family would be much easier if there was more acceptance of work to fit in with school hours. (emphasis added)
>
> (#27, electrical engineer)

The Conflict and Conflict Resolution

Nevertheless, there are often signs of the pain of having to give up a work career for family life, and an anxiety that a return to some kind of satisfying work career may be problematic.

> All-in-all, I would have loved to have been a "dad" - i.e. have children but be able to have a career and know the children were in totally reliable and sympathetic care.
>
> (#115)

> I always felt I would have a career after having children. I feel... resentful at having lost a career that I enjoyed to the full and see no prospect of ever getting back to it. Hence WIT is an effort to change directions.
>
> (#14)

It is interesting to note the extent to which the myth of motherhood, a societal attitude fully adopted by most of the women in this study, leads many of them ultimately to view themselves in a very negative way. Having endorsed the dominant societal norms earlier, they are now angry (or depressed) at what they interpret as the ultimate rejection or betrayal by society's institutions of their value as people. The following excerpt of a woman trained as a biologist illustrates well the gradual process of disillusionment of many women over time resulting from their acceptance of society's dominant norms pertaining to motherhood.

> It was not a decision, work versus children, but rather - I am going to bring up my children, not someone else, or there is no point having them. I studied books on children's growth, education, psychology. I helped at Play Groups, helped start a Mother's and Toddler Group and then helped at their schools.
>
> My husband was studying in the evenings for a second degree, then a Ph.D. I helped with his theses, read the scientific literature, tried to keep up to date.

> The thing is: now - at this time I did as I, as we both thought best, in fact there was no question about it, but now I can see how dull, bored, frustrated I became in those years! I slowly went down, became able to discuss the price of fish fingers, the weather, other peoples' children; went to coffee mornings. It was nice to chat to people; worried about the new curtains and the front lawn...
>
> It was only 13 years later, when going to the local college and really talking to people, not just the small talk of acquaintances, that I realized what had become of me. I really became alive again, a thinking person in her own right, someone with opinions to argue. I felt reborn!
>
> I was so indignant, so tricked when my children were all settled at school and playgroup to discover the only jobs I could do were school dinner lady, crossing-patrol lady or school-helper because of the hours and holidays.
>
> At school we were told to get our qualifications now, so that even if we did decide to get married and have children, we could return to work later on. Some hope! I applied to be a teacher's help at our local primary school, 50p an hour (!) and did not get it as I was overqualified. So I still go there, at least one full day a week, for nothing, and someone else gets paid. I enjoy it so I don't really mind (of course I don't now; I wouldn't go if I did) but I was angry with my old teachers. I also help one day a week at the Middle School, also voluntary, because there is no one with the computer knowledge to give the top year their computer studies. Hey ho!
>
> It's alright, the anger has gone, now my children are old enough for me to consider full-time work. But the wasted years (15 now!)...
> (#29)

How do individual women cope with the conflict generated between family and work? One way clearly is to enroll in a continuing (adult) education program such as WIT. The increasing numbers of programs designed for usually middle class women wanting to return to the work force in Britain and North America are witness to the extent of the conflict qualified and well educated women are experiencing.

Valuable as such programs are for most numbers of women, the programs themselves do not change the systemic reasons for the conflict. Nor is the conflict peculiar to women with technological and scientific backgrounds. Similar kinds of conflicts were identified in a study of married female physicians in Britain who had aspirations for courses in medical specialities (Warren, 1982). The following comments are from women in that study.

> Now when I got married, it brought me up to a bit of a stop, realizing my career was important to me, but there were other considerations, and I've

> gradually changed over the last couple of years...
>
> Young London Physician #1, resident in anesthetics

> The conflict in medicine sometimes makes me bitter, but if women have children they should look after them. But this conflict really creates stumbling blocks to developing full-time careers.
>
> Young London Physician #2, resident in obstetrics

The systemic problem of women with families and the technological work force is in many ways similar to that of women and the medical specialities work force. In both cases, the work forces have been dominated by masculine career models in which the cultural attitudes of those work forces ensure that a male sense of time with respect to ideal work career prevail.

Julius Roth has noted the passage of time to be a culture-bound phenomenon (Roth, 1963). Time may be viewed in some cultures as a "closed time" system and in other cultures as an "open time" system. With the closed time system, people are able to deduce their progress from their own development. This is possible because a series of related and definable stages of progress point the way to a recognized goal or series of goals. Such recognizable stages occur because an interacting group of people have access to the same body of clue for constructing the norms of a timetable. The definitions of work careers and the conditions under which such timetable norms develop correspond to a closed system.

With the "open time" system, however, progress is determined by the clock and calendar. Biological age and not human interaction become responsible for regulating and determining the norms for progress. A striking difference between men and women is that although the timetable for child-conception for men is more of a closed system, for women to date it has been very much of an open system. Consequently, a major structural constraint faced by female physicians and technological women is trying to meld the "closed time" professional work career timetable with an "open time" biological timetable in order to begin a family.

Signposts for the resolution of the conflict do not reside within the masculine specialities medical cultures or within technological cultures for the traditionally male incumbants have not had to develop perspectives pertaining to this problem. The conflict thus becomes unique for females because the dominant medical speciality cultures and technological cultures being masculine in their cultural attitudes have developed "closed time" timetable norms for its male incumbants both with respect to their professional and child conception goals. Within such male cultures, the discussion of timing with respect to fitting in professional with family roles tends never to be discussed because it is not an issue. This attitude of not addressing this question because it is not an issue sufaces however in the experiences of women preparing for professional work roles. Many of them express surprise and even shock when faced with the reality of having to mesh the two incompatible types of timetables. For example, a physicist whose father was a scientist states:

> The decision to marry was quite easy and natural. However, the decision to have children was more difficult. I think I'd always had these fantasies of being a wife and mother and having a happy family life, and another of having a successful career, and never really putting the two together... (#92)

Clearly, the early socialization or the professional socialization of such women does not address how family and career are both to be achieved.

PART II: CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES

Social psychologists generally stress the great importance which primary socialization has upon the development of the adult personality (Bardwick, 1971). It may well be that some of the difficulties reported in the GIST Report (Kelly, Whyte & Smail, 1984) of changing around girls' disinterested attitudes toward science and technology in secondary schools is related to the firm implantation of much earlier socialization attitudes particularly resistant to secondary socialization. If early socialization is indeed that virulent, then it is important to obtain some glimpses and parameters of the early patterns of socialization amongst women who followed scientific or technological interests. What were the childhood experiences, especially those of a positive variety, which encouraged these women to seek scientific or technological careers? A number of these cultural attitudes prevalent in early childhood will be described as themes or patterns.

The first set of patterns to be discussed arose in the context of the women describing their early schooling: the enjoyment of maths; the effect of positive labelling; the school climate; the influence of single sex versus mixed sex schools; and the perception of "normalcy" and "deviancy" of oneself vis a vis the school climate.

The second set of attitudinal patterns to be addressed are those relating to the climate of the home: the discounting of traditional gender stereotypes; and the influence of significant others.

School Socialization Attitude Patterns

The Enjoyment of Maths

Some writers view as misplaced the present emphasis upon mathematics as a critical filter for entrance into technological occupations such as engineering (Hacker, 1983). Nevertheless, it is more generally believed that failure to take maths at the secondary school level operates to keep people, particularly women, out of technical education programs and ultimately out of technical careers (Sells, 1974).

Studies have indicated "male superiority" in mathematics performance (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). However, no work has found evidence to support a biological basis for sex differences in maths performance (Sherman, 1967). Furthermore, sex differences in math achievement have been found to be eliminated if the number of maths courses taken by girls and boys is held constant (Fennema & Sherman, 1977). Although performance is not sex-linked, expectations of success are. It has been noted that girls' expectations of success in maths are related to themselves as females and this affects their willingness to persist in maths problem solving (Weissbrod & Yates, 1979). It has been observed that young children do not necessarily think of maths as an exclusively male activity, but adolescents do (Stein, 1972). Fox (1977) suggested that girls may be discouraged from studying maths because they believe that males are prejudiced against women who do math-related work. Fennema found that male adolescents indeed were more apt to find mathematics an inappropriate activity for girls than are teachers, parents, or others (Tobias & Weissbrod, 1980).

Sheila Tobias who coined the expression "math anxiety" notes that it affects more women than men. She believes it stems from "a culture that makes mathematics ability a masculine attribute, that punishes women for doing well in mathematics, and that soothes the slower math learner by telling her she does not have 'a mathematical mind'..." (Tobias, 1976:57). From her work in analyzing the maths autobiographies of students, Tobias outlines a number of cultural factors affecting math anxiety: the attitude that doing well in mathematics is a gift rather than a set of skills that can be learned, practiced or developed; the attitude that good work in maths requires instantaneous answers which makes women fear timed tests; the attitude that mathematics is a male domain.

Tobias also found that inadequate out-of-class experiences affect girls more than boys for girls tend not to be given the kind of toys that develop skills in building, problem solving and spacial visualization. Thirdly, students with advanced verbal skills may have difficulty with maths because some words used in maths have ambiguous connotations for those interested in and responsive to language.

Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, Tobias identifies stress in the classroom. Many students who develop a fear or hostility to the study of maths recall the pain and stress they experienced in maths classes. At some point in their growing up years, they developed a negative view of themselves in relation to maths. The work of Hoffman (1975) suggests that girls because of their affiliative needs would be particularly prone to negative views of self because "getting it right" for teachers' approval is presumably more important to them for a sense of self than it would be for boys.

What then were the recollections of the women in this study with respect to maths? With few exceptions, the women who had qualifications as chartered engineers, physicists, chemists, or mathematicians mentioned that they had been good at maths when they were young, and grew up enjoying maths. Not only did they like maths and were good at it, but the reporting of this liking is usually within the context of extensive support from family members and/or school personnel. For example:

> I always showed an aptitude in maths and science subjects and this was greatly encouraged by my elder mathematical brother...
>
> From an early age (7 or 8) I always liked maths and science and bought books of maths problems and did physics experiments with my brother and "helped" my father mend the car.
>
> (Electrical Engineering, #27)

Labelling theory has indicated the relationship between the teacher's definition of the situation and the self-fulfilling prophecy in relation to pupil success (Hargreaves, 1972). One is reminded of the importance of positive "labelling" for a sense of success and self-esteem in the next excerpts:

> I was always labelled - good at maths or sums at primary school. At the age of 9, the head teacher took a group of us for extra maths...
> (Engineering Science, #90)

> I was always top in maths and very keen on science... With maths, it wasn't so much a case of being interested in it as being extremely good at it - I used to get 100 percent and I was called "exceptional" etc. I never thought it was strange to be good at maths in relation to being female.
> (Mechanical Engineering, #6)

As discussed earlier, there is no evidence from studies to date that girls and boys differ in their aptitude to do maths, although clearly among both girls and boys some individuals have more innate ability than others. Amongst many of the women in this study however, one may be witnessing a rare collective phenomenon: women who have exceptional innate abilities in maths, exceptional in comparison with both girls and boys. Their excellent abilities appear to have made them visible in early childhood and they were encouraged often in "unorthodox" ways, as described by the following women:

> I haven't thought about this for years but I must have shown some mathematical ability at an early age because the ex-headmaster of the primary school gave me free mathematical tuition in my last year of primary school when I was doing mathematics, concepts which I did not encounter until third year at Grammar school.
> Secondary school - co-educational state school - for the first two years I took the same academic subjects as the other students in my form - top stream of grammar school. At the beginning of the third year I had to make a choice of subjects - the classics master wanted me to specialize in Latin, Greek and Ancient History and the physics master wanted me to take science. He told me that I had the most logical mind of any girl he had ever taught - I fell for the flattery and chose science!
> (Physics, #64)

> I had the same maths & general science teacher for the first three years of grammar school [she went to a boys' grammar school for science] and hence built up a good relationship with only two of us in the class. We were able to cover the whole course and spend time discussing problems.
> (Chemistry teacher, #34)

But what of the women in the study who as very young girls had been labelled as poor at maths? Are labels permanent or can they be changed? Did girls poor at maths receive the same encouragement as those who excelled? Consider the following example of a young girl whose school had in her early years labelled her as "poor" in maths. The excerpt demonstrates that enjoyment of maths is not necessarily inherent but can be learned provided there is support and encouragement from others.

> [She attended a small private school until age 11]. I was told I would never be any good at maths but was very good at English so it did not matter... At home, my mother (a professional engineer) made me work at arithmetic until I could do it. After 11, at a girls' grammar school, I had a rather rapid succession of maths and sciences mistresses, many of whom struggled with their subject, so eventually I had some private teaching from a master at boys' public school nearby. My parents also helped where the teachers were lost... I first found I could do maths well at the age of 12 and I enjoyed it.
>
> (Engineer, #104)

The School Climate

In contrast to the previous example, one can note the case of a working class student from Liverpool who attended a large comprehensive school. Her description suggests that the interest of her working class parents and especially that of her father nevertheless was not enough to counteract other negative labelling influences in the school. The account illustrates an attitudinal process in which the school climate clearly contributed to the progressive worsening of a student who initially perceived she was good at maths.

> I was very good at maths at 11 years old but lost interest and enthusiasm - could the large institution, the comprehensive school explain this? My primary school was small and I was very confident there - among the two thousand pupils at my comprehensive I quickly lost confidence...
>
> My parents were very encouraging - my father in particular realized the importance of education for all of us. There were seven children in the family. Despite a lack of money we were all given every opportunity and encouragement to stay at school. My two sisters and I were given as much help as our four brothers. My father knew that the most important subjects were maths and science and persuaded me to follow a scientific and mathematical course to "A" level.
>
> As the comprehensive school was also co-ed, there was subtle pressure on the girls to be pretty but not too clever, to have boyfriends but not to be in the top streams. The school had 2000 pupils, 12 forms per year. The forms or classes were streamed so that the top three forms only were entered for examinations and only the top first form entered for "O" level examinations. This meant that only 30 pupils were considered able/academic enough out of about 360, about 15 girls, 15 boys.

> I was made to feel different among my not so "academic" friends. I was "the clever one", the "girl who talks posh" and I often felt lonely and isolated. In the area where I lived none of the children went to my school.
>
> My parents have always encouraged me to do well in education as have my brothers and sisters. My headmaster wrote of my family that it was "steeped in academic tradition". The lack of money became a difficulty, however, when I reached adolescence and hoped to be with my peers who were out at discos and so on.
>
> I am glad that I was given this support and encouragement (at home). My friends at school wanted to leave and start work. I knew that I was fortunate in being allowed to stay on for further education, but the pressures - lack of money for clothes and outings, most of my free time spent studying etc. - became difficult to bear at times.
>
> Boys at school tended to shout girls down - the teachers used to listen to their questions and discussion in class was dominated by boys. I was quiet and shy at school and the atmosphere of boys demanding attention made me withdraw and become even quieter. I was considered "clever" when I started comprehensive school at 11 years, but at 14-18 years I just could not seem to really concentrate on my studies. I had the ability but something stopped me "getting down to it". Perhaps a student counsellor could have helped me - someone who I had known since I was 11 years and who I could talk to about my problem. My father and mother were very encouraging but I needed someone outside the family to confide in.
>
> (Teacher, #78)

One can postulate that special attention by adults in the school for this student initially labelled as clever and good at maths might have prevented the gradual loss of self-confidence and diminishing sense of who she was. The work of Harding (1981) suggests that the problems of girls' underachievement in science may be most severe in co-educational comprehensive schools; this vignette suggests the reasons why this would be so. Positive psychological attitudes are fostered by some school environments but not by others. The presence of a dominant masculine culture as well as the presence of a working class culture uneasy about roles for women beyond the traditional may well create a climate where math anxiety or general anxiety about academic success prevails for girls.

A second account, too, illustrates the perceptions of the presence of two gender cultures. The account recalls Charles Horton Cooley's concept of "the looking glass self". Cooley would assess that this young woman's consciousness of herself as a negative feminine self was a direct reflection of the ideas about herself which she attributed to others; these ideas are directly or indirectly a product of social life (Cooley, 1909:10).

> I went to a co-ed grammar school. There was no bar to maths/science, both of which I enjoyed, but looking back, I wish I could have done metalwork/woodwork.
>
> In my "A" level physics class there were two girls doing this subject: we were interested in the theoretical, differential equations-type approach, but the boys always seemed to be talking about dismantling/repairing radios, transformers, etc. The boys seemed to have much more "hands on" experience than we girls.
>
> Socially, I found things difficult. I was tall, skinny, flat-chested and cleverer than the boys, and because I was "beating" them academically, I felt they would not find me attractive. I think my self-confidence as a woman suffered, and that it is no coincidence that I married a man ten years my senior. (emphasis added).
>
> (#58)

In contrast to the woman above who attended a mixed sex class, the following comments are from a woman with a working class background who attended a girls' grammar school and found some support there in her school for her work.

> I did not have or want a boyfriend. Most boys I met socially while at school were rather daunted by my choice of subjects. My school friends were doing similar subjects so we encouraged each other. Friends out of school seemed rather in awe of me, when studying was mentioned. I had no family who had studied similar subjects.
>
> (#97)

These last two accounts bring to mind the important work of Matina Horner and her "fear of success" motivation of young women to do well academically (1972). Horner's work done largely with middle class university undergraduates in the United States showed how success academically can mitigate against a young woman's feminine sense of self through a fear of loss of male approval. Such findings lend support to the value of single sex classes for the teaching of maths and sciences to adolescent girls away from the perceived attitudes of male peers.

Mixed Sex Versus Single Sex Schools

The discussion of the theme of supportive and encouraging environments raises the controversial issue of mixed sex versus single sex schools. What are the views of the women based upon their experiences? First, of those reporting, 58 indicated they had attended a single sex school, 24 a co-educational school, and three had experienced both kinds of schools. On the basis of the experiences reported, cases supporting girls' academic achievement in the maths and sciences at either mixed or single sex schools could be made. However, the sheer number of reports from the single sex schools by women with technological training in this study does suggest the greater influence of such schools.

Additional comments (to those made earlier by #78 and #58) pertaining to their mixed sex secondary school experience include the following:

> I attended a co-ed grammar school. Maths was the subject of the school, which three-quarters of the pupils studied to age eighteen, which is a high proportion when you consider that from 16-18, you only study three subjects.
>
> I was good at science and encouraged, though again from 16-18 years I was the only girl in the class for chemistry.
>
> My teachers were all good honours graduates, and I was encouraged to follow them.
>
> (#1)
>
> After "O" levels (15-17) (taken at a co-ed grammar school) I went to the local grammar for "A" levels. I nearly opted for arts subjects as I was afraid I might be a lone girl among boys but realized my mistake in time and opted for maths (combined pure and applied), physics, and chemistry. Up till then, having done physics and chemistry together, I hadn't really separated them in my mind. But I soon realized I enjoyed physics but not chemistry (except the practical - great fun). If I had done them as separate subjects, I might have opted for physics, pure and applied maths as separate subjects. However, there were no girls at all doing pure or applied maths so I doubt if I would have had the courage. (Having been to an all girls' school, boys of my own age, were rather frightening at that stage. I think I thought they were completely alien creatures in spite of having a younger brother. I played mainly with his friends as I thought most girls and girls' games were "cissy).
>
> (#92)
>
> My aptitude for maths and the liking of it helped me to study two maths "A" levels even though I felt awkward as one of two girls in a class of 16.
>
> (#15)

Such accounts pertaining to mixed sex secondary school experiences clearly contain expressions of the young women's sense of uncomfortableness with being a minority among males. If women with innate abilities who enjoy maths and sciences felt uncomfortable as a minority sex in classes, what chances for interest and completion of such courses is there for young women with more modest talents?

The descriptions of the women's experiences in their single sex schools sometimes also included examples in which they noted they were a numerical minority with respect to their math or science interests. They often reported special attention because of the paucity of their numbers. However, being a minority amongst women may encourage young women in the sciences in single sex classes to feel "special" rather than "deviant" in choosing maths and sciences. To compete with other girls may not be as threatening to one's sense of feminine self as competing with boys. For example:

> I attended a very traditional grammar school (single sex education) with good science facilities and few "A" level science students (about 10 as opposed to almost 60 "A" six formers). Thus, we received every encouragement from the elderly (50 plus) but enthusiastic staff, all female. Two of us subsequently graduated with first class Engineering degrees. Similar encouragement from family.
> (#99)

> At an all girl school I did well at maths and sciences but I was not good at English, history, and languages. The natural progression was to do science subjects at "A" level. It was a small sixth form (22 girls). The largest class in maths physics and chemistry was three. It did not seem odd doing the sciences as this was what I was good at. The physics master ran a radio and electronics club which I enjoyed. It probably helped that it was an all girls' school as there was no competition between the sexes.
> (#10)

Normalcy and Deviancy

The comments of other women pertaining to their single sex secondary schooling gives one the impression that for them, the doing of sciences as "A" level subjects was viewed as "normalcy", whereas women in mixed secondary schools often gave a sense of "deviancy". The following excerpts illustrate this perception of normalcy.

> I then went to a very good girls' grammar school where we were encouraged to explore all fields equally. I eventually specialized in sciences and maths with a small group of girls (12 in Maths, 20 in Physics). The school, though staffed mainly by spinsters, accepted that most pupils would marry but laid great emphasis on the need for a career as well to fill the rest of life after child-rearing. It was a feminist environment in many ways and we absorbed the values without questioning them at the time, to find outselves in later life quite dedicated feminists simply by believing

> ourselves to be equal. (I wonder if my daughters will find equality so easy to assume).
>
> (#60)

> At eleven I moved to a single sex grammar school which taught the full spectrum of traditional subjects. It was accepted as natural that some girls would specialize in the sciences as they grew older just as some specialized in languages or the humanities. We were expected to study subjects across the academic range until the age of 16 when we went into the sixth form. People studying science were treated just the same as any others. All the staff were women (except for the caretaker and sports groundsman) until I entered the sixth form when the first male teacher was appointed to teach geography.
>
> (#116)

> The secondary school had no bias towards the arts or the sciences, therefore both sides were well represented in the sixth form. In fact, it wasn't until long after I left school that I realized it was not considered the "done thing" for girls to study sciences.
>
> (#33)

Do single sex schools today promote high interest in maths and sciences? There is some evidence they do. For example, an engineer who presently teaches physics in a girls' school in London noted that out of her single sex school of 300 girls, 20 were taking "A" level physics with the University of London Board. As there were only 2000 people in the world who took physics last year with this board, clearly the climate of this school was encouraging.

On the other hand, mixed sex schools are believed to provide important "equal opportunities" for both sexes through similar access to funding and quality of teaching. However, it is interesting to note that countries such as Sweden which have made a concerted effort to implement sex-equality policies in schools report little success in recruiting girls to maths and sciences courses. The explanation given for the relative lack of success is that the sex-equality policy in Sweden has been based upon the assumption of similarities between the sexes. However, there is now a new awareness among Swedish feminists and policy makers about the particularities of women's knowledge. There is a "women's perspective" in most fields which has often been overlooked (Elquist-Saltzman, 1985:132). Thus, policies of true sex equality may not necessarily mean treating both girls and boys the same (which usually in practice means treating all students as though they were boys) but treating boys and girls differently and respecting equally each of their cultural perspectives and their previous socialization patterns. The ideal solution may well be to establish some separate sex classes within mixed sex schools. Martha White speaks to this problem:

> Do women want the same opportunities or do they want special opportunities? The answer is simply that they need both. Career commitment takes a variety of forms for women and may increasingly do so for men. Longevity, population pressures, and the explosion of knowledge have created new needs and life stages for us all. If we become obsessed with simply giving women the same opportunities as men (important as this may be), we not only obstruct effective recognition of the differences in women's lives, but may fail to note what is already a trend - more complex educational and occupational patterns for both men and women. Many of the programs and innovations developed to suit women's needs are needed for men as well.
> (White, 1979:368)

Early Home Socialization Patterns

The Discounting of Traditional Stereotypes

Many of the accounts give portraits of the climate of home being one in which both parents worked hard to provide a creative environment, one in which the traditional role stereotypes were discounted. The following excerpts illustrate such climates:

> My parents were always very positive in their help and encouragement in maths, physics, and chemistry (their subjects) and encouraged my biology interest (though it wasn't their subject). For example, I was allowed an attic room as a "native room" from the age of ten, in which I created a museum of natural objects and living things.
>
> I was the elder of two children so my brother had me to live up to rather than vice versa. My parents were the only relatives I had who were scientists. My brother became an electronic engineer and an accountant and is now involved in computers (particularly for banking).
> (Ph.D. Biochemist, #30)
>
> I had two brothers who were two, and three and a half years younger than I. My parents treated us all the same and brought us up to be self-reliant - the boys had to be able to cook and sew and I had to be able to mend my own bike. We all had meccano kits and I used to "borrow" lots of meccano from my brothers so I could make bigger and better models. I competed with my brothers throughout my childhood.
>
> When I was a teenager, I said I would make a boat. My brothers said I couldn't, as I didn't have woodwork classes at school. I was determined to! So, I made a nine foot dingy. They were rather proud of me and brought their friends round to see.

> My father had arthritis in his hands so found it difficult to hold tools. Consequently, Mum used to mend fuses etc. Dad knew quite a lot and was very patient and he taught me a lot about how to use tools. Mum and I both like to dress prettily and be feminine etc., but we both mostly like to be tough, strong, capable, and independent. We tend to consider that other women are "useless creatures".
>
> (Mechanical Engineer #6)

> My mother, although untrained, always had a go at all jobs and tasks around the house even if they were so called "male occupations". My father had a keen curiosity on how things worked which I suppose rubbed off on me.
>
> (Electronic Engineer #31)

> I probably first became interested in technology in my sandpit at age two to three when I built roads and took cars to pieces to see how they put the wheels on the toy cars! Also, I used to remove the wheels on my tricycle to mend them - my mother helped me.
>
> I went often to work with my father at weekends, which I enjoyed. There was no stereotyping demarcation of the sexes for me - I helped my father with the car, mechanics etc. and his boat, and helped my mother in the home.
>
> I had a very good education at home: crafts, art and mechanics. I'm a "jack of all trades, master of none". I have always wanted to be an engineer like my father...
>
> (Plant Scientist #18)

Significant Others

The most often mentioned home influence in the lives of the girls were their fathers. Studies have indicated that highly successful girls academically tend to have an especially close relationship with or identify with a masculine father (Heilbrun, 1979:204). While the accounts rendered here do not necessarily indicate the precise nature of the girls' relationship with their fathers, many of them do indicate that the fathers spent a considerable amount of time with their daughters on projects. Hoffman has shown that girls are socialized to learn to achieve because of affiliation needs (Hoffman, 1975), and Weitzman speculates that an especially strong stimulus for achievement motivation in women would be a strong father-daughter relationship in which the father encourages his daughter and makes his love and approval dependent upon her performance (Weitzman, 1979). While ideally one might wish for unconditional love in child-rearing, it may well be that some girls are motivated to achieve in non-traditional ways because of affiliative dependency upon their fathers.

The accounts contain references to fathers but also indicate the importance of other male figures as well. For example:

> My father used to say "the sky is the limit" and he treated my elder brother and myself as near as possible in the same way.
> (Engineer #98)

> I was involved in handling tools very early. I also often watched and helped in my father's work shop where he repaired and made things for our house. He also took us on inspection trips to lighthouses and Radar Observation stations.

> My first experience with technology was at the age of five when we accompanied my father on a large carrying rocks expedition. The rocks were used to build a dam in at the mouth of the river Elbe to avoid the sands from drifting into the shipping channel. I was allowed to pull the lever which emptied the rocks and ever since then, when I visit Axhaven where the dam starts, I think that I "helped" to build it. I also admired my uncle (an electrical engineer) who built one of the first miniature railways, electric engine and coaches, cable car, overhead bus, rails and so on.
> (Nuclear Physicist #149)

> I always preferred to be with my father than with my mother - with boys than with girls - active and involved. The boys seemed more creative. We got old motor bikes working.
> (Teacher #109)

> I was not particularly influenced by anyone but "technology" in the form of building and racing cars was the family hobby. I probably considered any negative opinions as irrelevant! Most people (especially older boy-friends) seemed impressed.
> (Engineering Science #99)

> From an early age (7 or 8) I always liked maths and science and bought books of maths problems and did physics experiments with my brother and "helped" my father mend the car.
> (Electrical Engineer #27)

> My family was very conventional working class. My father was a manual worker, but an intelligent and interesting man who left school at thirteen. He always encouraged me and I wanted to do well to please him.
> (Chemical Engineer #16)

> My grandfather was the engineer in a woolen mill and I used to spend many hours in the summer vacation in the engine shed - the smell of hot engine oil still brings back happy memories.
> (Physicist #64)

In the accounts few women specified the influence of their mothers. Some did mention mothers who were scientists and several women indicated they had mothers who were engineers. One woman described her mother as testing jet engines for airplanes prior to her birth, while another explained that the school expected her to be different because her mother was a professional engineer; a third woman listed a family friend who was a professional engineer as influential. Few women, however, singled out their mothers as especially influential other than in the context of mentioning them together with their fathers as advocating non-stereotypical roles. However, one woman who obtained a diploma in mechanical engineering acknowledged the important influence of her mother. She says:

> I was very encouraged by my mother in any way I took as I developed - I always had artist materials, writing paper and books, chalks sand and anything I was interested in. Although money was always short I had a bike which I had to maintain myself and later a motorscooter during my Engineering Apprenticeship. My mother did all the home maintenance and always fully maintained her knitting and sewing machines. I could change a plug by my teens and wallpaper, paint and cook and dressmake by the time I was 18.
>
> It was my mother who suggested my career in Engineering - maths and art were my strongest subjects, sciences came later. She also insisted that a job must include training and when I was learning all these things she pointed out that a woman in a 'man's' job should not neglect the feminine side to life.
>
> (#120)

This account also documents the possibility and efficacy of females as positive socializing agents in a working class culture, women who clearly feel comfortable about being technological competant.

Did all of the accounts indicate a "nourishing" home atmosphere? Most did although a minority suggest that the home was not always supportive of the ambitions of girls. The strength of their early personality, the support of teachers, and positive secondary socialization experiences from people such as spouses meant such young girls, whose early home environment was not supportive, were not ultimately discouraged from scientific or technological goals. Most of the women in the following examples come from working class homes which indicates that the break-through out of traditional roles for women in many working class cultures is probably more difficult for a variety of reasons than for those of middle class cultures.

> My father ridiculed my attempts at maths/sciences, especially in the home with practical help. I admired my brother who helped prepare racing cars. I went to a kart race with him when I was nine. My father refused to sign my grant application form to enter university - he felt I was entering a den of inequity.
>
> (Archaeologist, #17)

> I went to a local primary then to a large unruly comprehensive in Glasgow. My father died when I was 12 and my mother was too busy running the house and looking after my younger brothers and sister to take much interest in my school life.
>
> No encouragement outside school. The only people I knew with any higher education were my teachers. None of my relatives had ever gone to university. No one discouraged me either. I played it down very skillfully. My husband was my first boyfriend who was also at university. A great relief to find someone who wasn't upset by it.
>
> (Statistician, #108)

> My first interest in science particularly chemistry was at school. My brother two years younger, was very disparaging and felt that because he was already working that he kept me at the polytechnic. A fourth optional year at the polytechnic made my mother think that I wanted to be "an eternal student". Two uncles were metallurgists and were vaguely encouraging.
>
> (HND Metallurgy, #91)

> I was never encouraged by school or home (except perhaps by my mother who realized the value of qualifications).
>
> My father saw little point in me continuing my education, once I reached "leaving" age. I was the oldest of five children and cannot think of any family members or friends who I admired, or who encouraged me in these particular fields. I did get great satisfaction from maths on two levels: (1) it was great to "solve" a question and (2) most others found it difficult so it was a "good" feeling to be good at this subject.
>
> During my first three years at secondary school, I had a good maths teacher who "stretched" me.
>
> (Maths teacher, #15)

Conclusions

Biographical descriptions along with interactionist and socio-structural analysis has focussed upon the social attitudes and patterns of childhood socialization of women trained in technological and scientific fields. Affirmations of previous studies as well as insights into a number of complex questions has resulted.

What early socialization experiences differentiated these women as young girls from other girls who do not persist with scientific or technological interests? These observations seem important. First, many of the women in this study clearly had superior innate scholastic ability, particularly mathematical. They persisted with their interests in school when the school climate was such that it contained important adult others (both female and male) who singled them out, nourishing and encouraging them. These adults interacted with the young girls giving them a social foundation in which they took pride in their achievement record. They often protected and sheltered the girls from negative influences (such as the presence of boys in single sex schools). Usually reinforced by a positive home environment, the schools provided a nurturing "hot-house" environment protected from the interaction with the negative restrictive attitudes behind the structures of many outside institutions.

Secondly, at home the importance of significant others and in particular male figures can be noted as encouraging non-traditional gender experiences. Eleanor Maccoby has noted that tomboy supporting behaviour amongst girls develops abstract thinking as it encourages field independent thinking. A number of women in this study mentioned being tomboys as girls; others indicated that their mothers, while encouraging them in independent activities, also fostered in them traditional feminine concerns.

Thirdly, as a consequence of a wealth of positive home and school influences, some of the women reported that as young girls they took their interest in maths and science subjects as quite normal and saw themselves as no different from other girls (who were also studying similar subjects). Indeed, one woman says that by the time she left secondary school she assumed that feminist ideas of equality prevailed in the world and she was quite surprised to find other attitudes existed.

Nevertheless, while some of the women were socialized to accept their interests as "normalcy", the majority tended to come to view themselves by adolescence as "different". Such labelling may be seen as a turning point event. As a consequence, the women saw themselves as "different and special" if surrounded by similarly talented parents, teachers or peers; or they came to view themselves as "different and deviant" if affected by their perceived assessment of peers (especially boys) or by bewildered parents. The deviancy view tended to be more prevalent amongst women from working class backgrounds and clearly their achievements with but mixed support from significant others is particularly noteworthy because their behaviour so clearly goes against the traditional norms of working class women.

Going against the societal norms as young girls came to be viewed by a number of women in this study as a special challenge. In their adolescence years, as they came across structural and attitudinal constraints these but served as negative incentives. The following comments support this contention:

> During career choosing time - I remember going to a Careers Conference at county level. I stood up and asked what the panel thought the opportunities for girls in engineering were. The reply was that although I would easily get a university place, it was doubtful if I would get a job later (This was 1965/66!). I am afraid that this one reply made me determined to be an engineer! (emphasis added)
>
> (Engineer, #98)

> The physics teacher (a woman) had worked in industry and was disillusioned by the lack of opportunities for women, so had gone into teaching, and generally, implicitly if not always explicitly, teaching was projected as the only occupation for the more educated women. Probably because of their lack of encouragement, I was determined to show them I could get into a university.
>
> ( )

To what extent have the early socialization patterns of the women predicted the adoption of the adult model of interrupted work career? On the one hand, it is surprising that such well educated women in specialities did not adopt continuous career patterns; on the other hand the strength of the myth of motherhood attitude indicates its virility in British societies (and most Western societies as well). This myth has affected both the attitudes of significant others and of the generalized others implicit in the structures of institutions. It may well be that the adoption of the motherhood attitude so heartedly by the technological women here is a compensatory reaction to the sense of deviancy or marginality which many of the women report feeling in late adolescence and especially after early work experience.

Secondly, for many of the women, their professional education because it was in traditional male areas, did not prepare them with any anticipatory socialization for the balancing of work and family. Thus, some women seemed to have fallen into rather than negotiated this model.

However, the majority of the women appear to have started their early adult lives with the equality premise that educated women like men have careers, and that women like men expect to have family lives as well as careers. The life histories capture the women at various points in their lives (before and after marriage) negotiating with their spouses the terms of their integration of work and family.

A range of results can be noted including such extremes as the "superwoman" who indicated she worked harder than her husband (after recently returning to full-time engineering employment and combining full-time managerial responsibility for her family) and felt privileged to be able to do so. Such examples indicate the price some individual women feel called upon to pay in order to fulfill their technological career desires, but one not physically possible or attractive for the majority of women.

Regardless of the negotiation patterns between wife and husband, in the final analysis it becomes apparent that the attitudinal constraints inherent in the structural features of institutions mitigate against the adoption of the dual career model. Consequently, the husband tends to be cast in the role of full-time bread winner, and the wife in the role of the manager of the family, with aspirations for part-time or full-time work.

To what extent is social change possible due to continuing education experiences? Programs such as the WIT program can inspire, give confidence back to talented women who sense obsolescence, provide networks of support, and increase their chances of getting back into the workforce through a re-direction toward current technological areas.

Such programs can also provide secondary adult socialization which may alter the early social attitudes of childhood. For example, most of the women have considerable strengths in maths and sciences but have had little opportunity to focus them on more pragmatic technological areas (e.g. computer application). To a certain extent such attitudes are the results of earlier social attitudes which steered young people away from technological subjects into careers in the pure sciences or maths on purely elitist grounds. For example, several women expressed their dismay now at not being encouraged to take engineering at university at an earlier time.

Nevertheless, unless efforts are extended to alter the systemic causes of the need for such programs, the programs themselves cannot really address the real underlying discriminatory patterns of social inequity and are but ministering to the symptoms. First, a society is needed which values the socialization experiences of childhood so much that child-rearing is deemed an important and valued activity equally for men and women. Secondly, women as well as men whose early aptitudes and interests in maths, sciences and technological are clearly discernable, need to be encouraged by all societal institutions. Policies and programs in continuing education must simultaneously address these two systemic programs which providing pragmatic opportunities for cohorts of women to lead more satisfying lives.

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MEASURING AND MANAGING VARIABLES FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION PROGRAMS IN A UNIVERSITY SETTING: AN ECONOMETRIC MODEL

Introduction

University Continuing Education Units within Canadian universities have been under severe resource pressures from inside and outside their institutions during the past few years. Access to key faculty, changes in budgetary targets, movements in the marketplace and the place of the unit within the University are among the key issues that continue to plague Continuing Education Unit managers. Perhaps because of the present state of our own professional development and self-image as adult educators, and perhaps because of the strategies adopted by other university/community stakeholders, these issues have usually been seen and treated as isolated fragments.

Take, for example, the issue of self-image: Are Continuing Education professionals academics and, if so, why don't we get the respect due us within the University community? This single issue has consumed countless hours at staff meetings and conferences (both in the sessions and, later, in the bar. . .). The discussion calls to mind one of T. S. Eliot's creatures in Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats:

When you notice a cat in profound meditation,
   The reason, I tell you, is always the same:
When His mind is engaged in rapt contemplation,
   Of the thought, of the thought, of the thought, of his name:
      His ineffable effable
   Effanineffable
Deep and inscrutable singular Name.

Yet this self-image issue, so often considered singly, is systemically interconnected with others. The plaintive cry of lack of academic respect is not answered by the determination of which union card we will carry. At any institution, academic respect is a function not only of organizational structure and personnel classification systems, but of the institution's view of the relationship of education to the community, its organizational cultural values and reward systems, its budgetary resources and program delivery capabilities -- at least.

So it is with other problems faced by the Continuing Education Unit manager. We will argue that a number of key philosophical issues are intertwined with these operational problems, and that we do ourselves a professional and managerial disservice if the wholistic approach to their management is ignored. Each variable (issue) is linked to others, which can be identified with careful analysis. When one variable shifts, so do the others in the total management equation — the issues are interdependent.

In this search for the patterns of interconnectedness within our University Continuing Education world, we can learn a great deal from the study of quantum mechanics: an individual incident or event may be random and only statistically probable, but the behaviour of the overall management system of an individual Continuing Education Unit (i.e., collections of events) can be described with some accuracy. As Wildavsky (1979) notes, "In a world governed by partially known causal chains, where motives are sometimes effective and intentions are occasionally realized, instrumental knowledge is possible."

Two further principles from the new physics apply to our ensuing discussion of management within this field. First, when we talk about management, we are talking about ideas, and attitudes about ideas - not absolute truth. So what is important about our discussion of interconnectedness of issues is not how closely it corresponds to the absolute truth (a metaphysical issue), but how consistent it is with our own experience of how organizations (especially academic organizations) work (Zukav, 1979).

Second, we cannot observe something without changing it. We will suggest that an econometric model is one appropriate way to view the broad strategic management task within Continuing Education. An econometric model is an equation that is a hypothetical construction of reality which includes variables identified as important, and as affecting the way in which a country's or an industry's, or an organization's economy works. Just by the act of priorization and selection of variables for their perceived importance for inclusion, we have altered the reality of the equation. A cautionary note about the process which will ensue: many such models don't work because they are badly constructed. A valid model means it is acceptable; models are never perfect. If testing shows that there exists, in some meaningful sense, a close correspondence between the model and the real-life behaviour it pretends to represent, it is acceptable and valid.

While we will argue that a quantitative representation of the Unit management process is feasible and worth pursuing, this paper will not present a specific mathematical formulation. Rather, it will describe the model-building process, identify a set of universally relevant Continuing Education management variables, and suggest specific methodologies for measuring those variables quantitatively. Actual formula refinement awaits a future research task — one which we hope will be informed by discussion, comments and critiques of this paper.

Why an Econometric Approach?

Why use an econometric model and quantum mechanics to talk about University Continuing Education Unit management? Doesn't it just complicate the issue (as well as descend into trendiness) to view all our problems wholistically? Its tough enough to get a handle on things when we examine them in smaller pieces. Our best, and admittedly simplistic response is to acknowledge the difficulty in building and manipulating an econometric model, but to note that our current fragmented way of approaching these issues has not served us well.

Some background information on this type of model-building may be helpful at this point. Any econometric model is likely to include two kinds of variables. Endogenous (from the Greek, "generated from inside") variables are interconnected in the sense that a change in any one of these causes change in the others and, hence, further changes in itself. They are determined simultaneously, since to determine first one and then other would be hopeless, as they all determine one another. Take, for example, the variable of consumer demand and income. The more consumers demand goods and services, the more producers produce and the bigger the level of income becomes. But the bigger the income level, the bigger the consumer demand.

Exogenous ("generated from outside") variables are unaffected by changes in other variables. For example, in a macro-econometric model, an exogenous variable might be a government decision to change a tax rate or reduce its level of spending. It changes the overall outcome of the equation to increase or decrease the tax rate, but the variable itself is not tied in an organic way to other variables in such a model of the larger economy.

In working with an econometric model, one assumes a hypothetical change in one of the variables and then works out (on paper via the model) the implications of that change for the character of the management setting (i.e., the total organizational economy) of this individual University Continuing Education Unit. Thus, this kind of model is built on the importance of observation and analysis by the Unit manager. Depending on the way in which observation and analysis are undertaken by that manager, the outcome will change. If we identify seven key variables rather than nine; if we weight "a" more heavily than "g" and expend more managerial effort on the former than the latter; if we choose to measure "c" in narrow rather than broad terms, the result will differ from alternative outcomes. These are all managerial judgement calls. As Wildavsky (1979) put the matter (in another context): What is peripheral and what is central? What is impossible to measure and what is merely difficult?

In whatever manner the manager observes, analyses (and, eventually, acts), s/he cannot stand safely behind the thick glass wall and watch what goes on without taking part (Wheeler, 1979). Since we cannot observe something without changing it, the possibility is that our reality is what we choose to make it (Zukav, 1979).

There are, of course, plenty of practical problems with econometric models. The most common problems occur at the formulative stage. Relevant variables may be omitted, or irrelevant ones may be included, or a variable may be given inappropriate weighting. The best, if not the least painful, preventative measure for this set of difficulties is group process. As a manager attempts to determine which are the critical variables in the organizational economy at his/her own institution, it is useful to check the list and the weighting with key peers and opinion leaders within the organization.

A second potential problem area is that the data used to measure each variable may be outdated or statistically and substantively skewed. Again, the best remedy is to check out the data sources with other informed persons. What are the relevant timeframes to consider? If we are gathering data, what are the appropriate questions to ask, and from whom?

A final, and more intransigent difficulty, is that there is no easy way to predict the value of exogenous variables. An excellent contemporary example of an exogenous variable for University Continuing Education is the proposed federal government cutback in EPF transfer payments to the provinces in support of post-secondary education. We know that major EPF cuts will have corresponding major impacts on universities. But those impacts are likely to vary depending upon the timeframe for the cutback, the ameliorative measures taken by the universities, and the retrenchment mangement strategies developed by individual institutions. Thus, the impact of a seemingly straightforward, and nationally universal, exogenous variable becomes more difficult to measure within localized institutional parameters.

Having acknowledged these practical difficulties (and assuming an inherent, principled resistance among academic managers to the use of a quantitative management tool), let us move cautiously toward exploration of the benefits of the approach. First, it has the advantages of any model: It purposefully reduces a mass of information to a manageable size and shape, presenting a simplified representation of some aspect of the real world. If it is a good model, it describes the essential features of a complex situation, and enables us to consider more variables than we can normally carry comfortably in our heads on a day-to-day basis.

Second, this type of model gives us the possibility of experimenting with changing variables within our control, so that we can postulate the implications before we tinker with the system directly. It also allows us to speculate about the impact of changes in variables which are not under our control, and to consider proactive strategies or palliative actions in a variety of circumstances, increasing managerial flexibility in a rapidly changing environment.

Third, like other quantitative models (such as network analysis and decision trees), an econometric model has the potential advantage of forcing fuller examination of important factors for managerial planning, decision-making and strategy implementation. Constructing a model (if the task is broadly shared) facilitates communication within the organization and can lessen resistance to subsequent change because access to both data and processes is equalized.

Fourth, when the model attempts to represent complex interdependent variables, it will force the manager to apply and refine strong decision-making criteria, often leading to more appropriate formulation of the problem. Often the difference between a good manager and a bad one (in the University, as elsewhere) lies in his/her ability to find a problem about which something can and ought to be done. If there is not a solution, likely the problem should be reformulated; the solution is part of defining the problem. Successful inventors are those that choose to develop products which will be sought in the marketplace; the prizes in science go to those who choose problems that turn out to be interesting and solvable (Wildavsky, 1979).

Finally, constructing and sharing a model has a powerful effect against entropy. Where there are viable alternatives for action, shared knowledge and agreement upon the model's assumptions has a powerful influence upon those with authority to act to do so in a way which minimizes unintended negative side-effects.

A First-Stage Example Of The Art And Craft

If there is virtue in the process, then where to begin? Let us tell you how both of us began down this road. . . . For some time, each of us has — at our own managerial level within our Continuing Education organizations (middle and senior, respectively) — been disturbed by the seeming intransigience and unresolvability of the systemic issues mentioned in the opening paragraphs of this article. When action was taken on a single problem, often the problem-solving gave way to problem succession. Any significant action had an unexpected, and often unintended, impact on another one of these supposedly independent problems. Managing these issues, in total, was a bit like attempting to control crabgrass without dealing with the root system - it always pops up again in another place.

In short, it was the experience of our own management travails that led us toward conceptualizing an econometric model of the system. Our respective views of the important dependent variables developed in isolation from one another, but were amazingly similar, although the University of Manitoba and the University of Guelph are quite different institutions. The seven-variable model described below is a very broad one which could cover both of our institutions, and likely many others in the Canadian context. The institutional individuality would come at a later stage of model development, since the data and sub-formulae for each variable would differ (just as a variety of sub-formulae modify such broad macro-econometric models as CANDIDE). The determination of the seven variables was, in part, based on individual reflection and experience; in part, on individual environment-scanning; and in part, on informal conversations with colleagues and peers. The variables include:

- the social/public policy filters of the Continuing Education Unit manager;
- the commitment of the University to Continuing Education;
- the commitment of the community to Continuing Education;
- the organizational culture of the Continuing Education Unit;

- faculty resources and supports;
- budgetary resources and supports; and
- technological resources and supports.

Such broadly-described variables cry out for more definition and discussion of managerial approach.

The Social/Public Policy Filter of the Unit Manager

Hodgkinson (1983) points out that discussions of contemporary management often neglect the philosophy of administrative leadership, although much attention now is being paid to the importance of value components in the managerial philosophical framework (see Kanter, 1983; Schein, 1985; and Kilmann, 1986).

A basic component of any management model is that of philosophy; in this case, the specific philosophy of adult and continuing education. Without a philosophical base, a Unit manager would have difficulty responding to the questions of management referred to in this paper. One must, of course, be careful not to fall into any one philosophical camp without a recognition of other philosophies. An awareness of the existing philosophical camps, however, helps one decide the responses to management questions and even helps one pose questions.

One can talk about the philosophical orientation of the Unit manager from a variety of perspectives. One such framework would view the manager in terms of his/her political philosophy. The importance of this variable lies in the implications of the manager's philosophy of Continuing Education inasmuch as it relates to the social/public policy development process.

For example, the Unit manager with a conservative/residual political philosophy (reborn these days as a neo-conservative or neo-corporatist) likely would view Continuing Education's role as appropriately marginal to the University with regard to baseline funding. In the words of Streeck, Schmitter and Martinelli (1980), "The corporatist hypothesis proceeds from the assumption that social integration and economic exchange in advanced industrial societies are not 'naturally' accomplished and maintained through the aggregation of the independent decisions of individual actions in the market but rather have to be produced by political arrangements at the societal level (i.e., through a balancing of power among business, labour and government)." Therefore, public subsidies should be utilized only for those who are residual to the market system: the widows-and-orphans-only view of social welfare. On an as-expedient basis, conservative/residual adherents also see it as legitimate to use public funds to underwrite activities which mutually benefit, by political arrangement, that triumvirate of business and labour and government.

Thus, the conservative/residual Unit manager is not likely to pursue an internal agenda with the University to increase its operational commitment to Continuing Education, and is likely to contentedly focus program activity on those Continuing Education events which will fully recover costs. This manager also will welcome grant-funded programs which walk in the door, but s/he will not be inclined to seek them out or to engage in lobbying/advocacy activity to alter grant-funding parameters. In short, this manager will opt out of the social/public policy process both within and outside the University.

Parallel Unit scenarios could be developed for other political philosophies. Another useful — and more familiar — framework for assessing the social/public policy filter of the Unit manager is the six educational philosophical foundations described by Elias and Merriam (1980). Liberal philosophies place an emphasis on liberal education; a review of organized knowledge leading to the development of the intellectual powers of the mind. Courses in "Great Books", "Five Significant Philosophers", and "Italian Renaissance Art" would be representative of the liberal education philosophy in practice. A "liberal" manager would emphasize broad-based, intellectually challenging components in any adult/continuing education program, with less emphasis on immediate cost recovery and program objectives linked more to personal, individual development, rather than to organizational/systems change issues.

The progressive philosophical foundation focuses on education for change, applied educational situations and experiential education. An adult educator in this camp would be interested in management issues that lead to change and development, things that are practical and applied, as one finds in agricultural extension programs. The focus would be both individual and organizational development, and active grant-seeking would be consistent with this philosophy.

The behaviourist is interested in modern scientific movements, in behaviour modification, in management by objectives and competency-based adult education. Such a manager places emphasis on objectives, critical paths, reward systems and management control. An organizational, rather than individual, focus is likely to dominate program planning and funding.

The humanistic philosophical foundation relates to existentialism and a feeling for trust, autonomy and self-directedness. Such a manager places less emphasis on the job to be done and more on the humanizing nature of the environment in which freedom and trust will lead to "ownership" of the task. This, again, has a more individual development focus. Seeking grant funding would be less attractive for this manager because of the potential for conflict with funder objectives.

The radical foundation is used by managers who see adult education as a means of achieving radical social change and is closely connected with social, political and economic concerns. The manager of this purist philosophical persuasion is a rare breed in University Continuing Education Units, for obvious economic and organizational reasons.

The analytic philosophical foundation is based on logical positivism with an emphasis on clarification of concepts, arguments and policy statements. This questioning and analyzing ranges all the way from asking "What is an adult?" to "Is continuing education a discipline, a profession or a field of study?" Combined with other philosophical foundations, this one can be of great strength to the manager in the clarification of purposes and priorities for the Unit; standing alone, it leads to a form of managerial analysis-paralysis.

Using these philosophical foundations as filters or screens, one can then approach management issues knowing one's primary philosophical basis for asking questions and seeking solutions.

For purposes of the proposed econometric model, how can these philosophical filters be measured and managed? First, self-assessment by the Unit manager and his/her peers is indicated. Is the manager's philosophy self-evident? How is it expressed in terms of priorities for investment of management time?

- What proportion of time does the Unit manager (and his/her middle-management designates) spend on University-wide activities - Dean's Council, pan-faculty administrative committees or task forces, informal lobbying or advocacy for the unit with other faculties or central administration? This time can be converted to a cash value, as it represents an asset which can be increased or decreased if intentionally used in this type of activity.

- What proportion of time does the Unit manager (and his/her middle-management designates) spend soliciting grant-funds in support of programs, or advocating on behalf of community groups which cannot pay full cost of Continuing Education programs targeted to them? Again, there is a cash value for this kind of time use.

- What proportion of Unit programmer and support staff time is spent on programs which are directly or indirectly subsidized by baseline or grant funds? Again, a cash value can be calculated.

Answering these three questions represents a very solid attempt to measure, as a variable, the impact of the social/public policy filter of the Unit manager.

The Commitment of the University to Continuing Education

How important is Continuing Education to the University? Is it central or marginal to the core activities of the institution? Other writers have dealt with marginality at length — among them, Moses (1971), Kolker (1975), Penfield (1975), Darkenwald (1977) and Beder (1979). Most, like Devlin (1986), addressed the question of marginality by examining funding and budgets. We would not underestimate the power of money as a management resource; indeed, we treat it as a separate variable below. However, in these times of University-wide restraint, we suggest that the absolute value or ratio of baseline dollars to Continuing Education is not the only important measure of University commitment. Some other suggested measures:

- Is Continuing Education mentioned in the mission statement of the University and, if so, in what context?
- Is Continuing Education mentioned in the academic plan of the institution?
- What are the important day-to-day operational decision-making bodies and committees in the institution - formal and informal? On which ones does the Continuing Education Dean/Director sit?
- What is the informal ease of access for the Dean/Director to the President, the Academic or Administrative Vice-President(s), the Chair of the Board of Governors? How frequently do they see one another outside of formal, annual processes?
- Do Presidents, Vice-Presidents, and other senior administrators make attendance at Continuing Education ceremonial events a high priority (e.g., graduations, high-profile seminars and conferences, etc.,)?
- How is formal policy-setting for Continuing Education conducted? Is it left to the Unit, or are other University units involved through a board or committee structure?
- Does more than one unit do Continuing Education in the institution? If so, does anyone care about coordinating those activities and preventing turf conflict?

The direction of our suggested measures is transparent. Money is not the only determinant of organizational power, particularly in hard times. For, if Continuing Education is not stated as a University-wide mission or included in institutional planning, and if the Dean/Director has little formal or informal access to power, there simply is not any base for fighting budgetary battles. Where these conditions do not exist, we submit that they can be built, slowly and carefully, over time by a committed Continuing Education manager.

The Community's Commitment to Continuing Education

One of the advantages of being a boundary-spanning Unit of the academic monolith is the ability to access power outside the institution as well as within it. The successful Continuing Education Unit must keep a foot in both camps, but Continuing Education can more easily tap into community, political and social power bases than, say, can the Department of Philosophy or Semiotics. Here are some suggestions for examining the level of community commitment to a Unit's activities:

- Does the Unit offer a wide range of programs, appealing to a variety of community interests — credit-degree completion opportunities, professional Continuing Education, personal development, programs targeted to specific groups which may experience post-secondary educational barriers (e.g., natives, women), programs targeted to meet employer training needs?
- Are programs well-subscribed? Are applicants turned away for lack of space in some offerings? Do you have more community requests for program development than you can service?
- Are programs advised by community-based committees? Are these committees consciously constructed to provide a power base, as well as an educational referent? Egalitarian resistance to inclusion of the social, professional and political elite can be costly in the long-term.

- Is it easy to get media public service time to market your programs? Do the media seek out the Unit reasonably regularly in search of feature stories because interesting things happen there? Do local columnists see Unit activities as a source of patter?

- Does the Dean/Director know the key people in the province's post-secondary office personally? Does s/he feel comfortable to call them for informal input or advice?

- Does the Unit receive unsolicited testimonial letters or comments from students or professional groups? If so, who does it share them with - University senior management, advisory committees, the general public through marketing efforts, etc.?

The Organizational Culture of the Continuing Education Unit

The culture of an organization is a collection of norms and values, mostly unwritten, which govern the behaviour of the people within it. A wide variety of management scholars have devoted attention to the importance of this variable in determining organizational success, including Schein (1985) and Kilmann (1984, 1986). Blaney (1986) has directed the discussion of organizational culture to the University Continuing Education Unit, in particular, by highlighting the need to be in harmony with the wider University culture while developing a distinctive Unit sub-culture appropriate to adult education.

In attempting to analyze a Unit's culture, Schein (1984), suggests such a culture will say something about the nature of the following important values:

- Relationships — Are relationships within the organization primarily hierarchical, or egalitarian in nature?

- Time — Is the Unit oriented to the past, the present, or the future in its activities?

- Environment — Does the dominant value reinforce a belief that we have control and input into our environment, or that we are victims of the events that occur around us?

- Truth — Is only "one truth" allowable, or is the discussion and validation of "many truths" encouraged?

- Human Nature — Does the organization essentially believe that human beings are good, and to be encouraged in their goodness and creativity, or evil, and to be governed in a way which will limit the amount of evil they can do?

- Activity Orientation — Is the organization one that places the accent on "doing" or "being"?

Some useful questions to fill in this framework for viewing culture include:

- How layered is the organizational structure of the Unit? Is the norm to "go through channels" or to value matrix-style access at all levels of the Unit?

- Does any sense of peer equality apply only to programmers or academic staff, or does it include clerical/support staff? If so, to what extent?

- How approachable/supportive is the Dean/Director? What kinds of issues provide the exception to whatever is the existing rule?

- Is the Unit proactive or reactive in its programming? Does it wait until a request comes in the door, or does it seek out key groups to work with or "leading edge" issues to tackle?

- Can the Unit create and offer interdisciplinary programs when these are sought by the community?

- Do senior management and staff focus their complaints on actors outside the Unit (e.g.,"if only central administration/the faculties would. . .), or are most problems seen to be within Unit power to impact or resolve?

- Does the Unit lean on past glories in its anecdotes and in its programs? How often are programs reviewed, evaluated, retired?

- What future planning horizons are used — one year, five years, next week? Are such horizons institutionally imposed by central administration, or do they have operational meaning for the Unit?

- How are program or budgetary failures treated? Are they viewed as creative learning experiences or disciplinary examples? Or are they just ignored, with no perceived organizational consequences, positive or negative?

- Is programming activity rigidly controlled by parameters, caveats and procedures of a bureaucratic nature? What are the risks these procedures seek to limit?

- Do programmers see themselves as brokers or creators? As academic staff with teaching and research skills, or as ancillary staff providing service supports?

- How does program change occur — on the basis of market research, hunches, or limited advice from staff and management cronies?

- How is conflict handled within the Unit, personal or programmatic? Is it viewed as "bad" — a violation of the one-big-happy-family norm — or has it managed to provide validation for a variety of opinions while achieving workable compromise?

- How are daily rituals handled? Is the manager a clock-watcher or relaxed, but with high performance expectations? Do staff socialize comfortably with one another? How are promotions, dismissals and discipline handled? How is achievement recognized?

Many, but not all, management scholars cite the role of the Unit leader as most critical in changing cultural variables which impede organizational success. Others, including Short and Ferratt (1984), argue that those below senior management levels can initiate and solidify cultural changes. Again, a prescriptive bias underlies our suggestions for measurement. As with other enterprises, we feel Continuing Education is better served by a proactive, participative, research-grounded culture which values and publicly rewards the creative talents of all of its staff.

For purposes of the model, we would suggest that this variable can be measured by establishing a weighted, graduated scale appropriate for the Unit for responding to the 14 questions outlined above. Changes in any of the items listed would then be registered by movement toward or away from a maximum score. With practice and keen observation, the Unit manager should, over time, be able to distinguish significant intervals or ranges of movement in the total scale which will impact on other variables.

Faculty Resources and Supports

Continuing Education managers, we feel confident, would argue that access to skilled faculty resources is an essential variable in program and Unit management. In this area, more than in many others, however, Units often seem caught in the web of tradition and procedural practice. Difficulties in accessing good faculty seem to fall into three categories:

(1) The institution just doesn't have the horses to run the race. Faculty in a needed program area do not exist on staff, or they are weak in content area, or they can't function in a classroom of over-25-year-olds.

(2) The faculty members don't perceive any long-run career payoff in teaching for Continuing Education. Such activities don't count in promotion and tenure decisions, or they don't count as much as undergraduate and graduate teaching and research.

(3) Faculty members don't perceive enough short-term payoff in Continuing Education paycheques. The institution may set limits on remuneration for University staff teaching Continuing Education offerings, or Revenue Canada guidelines for extraordinary payments to full-time staff may make the opportunity cost for spending evenings in Continuing Education classrooms too high.

The above categories of barriers concern instructional faculty contracted from outside the Unit. There are further difficulties in obtaining good academic staff within the Unit, as well:

(1) Do Continuing Education academic staff have compensation, promotion and tenure opportunities equivalent to faculty in other units?

(2) What academic background is appropriate for Continuing Education staff? Content specialization with adult education interest and expertise, or adult education specialization flexible across programs? Who decides and based on what criteria. (and do the criteria last longer than the lifespan of a Dean/Director)?

There are standard organizational responses to the difficulties outlined regarding instructional faculty from outside the Unit. Where institutional resources are non-existent or weak, the Unit can locate and develop community instructors or, if the finances allow, faculty from other institutions can be imported. Or it can decide not to offer the program. Where there is no long-run career payoff for Continuing Education participation, senior Unit managers can undertake careful committee work and advocacy within the institution to change the rules of the game. Where arbitrary, rather than market, limits are placed on remuneration rates for full-time University staff, other "perks" can be provided to make Continuing Education activity more attractive (e.g., course development contracts, program-related professional development and travel, etc.).

For Unit academic staff, again careful committee work and advocacy may be required to make staff positions attractive and career-directed. The problem of educational criteria for success in the Unit can be resolved through development of stable, written hiring and promotion policies which articulate educational requirements.

In terms of the econometric model under discussion, a useful measure of this variable might include, as in the variable above, development of a weighted, graduated scale for response to questions like the following:

- Does Continuing Education teaching count toward promotion and tenure decisions for faculty in other units?
- If not, does the Dean/Director participate actively in decision-making structures which have the power to change promotion and tenure criteria?
- Does the Unit provide teaching support services for instructors, including opportunities for training in adult education philosophies, methods, curriculum design, etc.?
- Are sufficient classroom aides and marking supports provided to ensure good instruction and high-quality evaluation?
- Do classroom and program evaluations have instructor input and are they used with instructors to improve teaching quality and impact?
- Are Continuing Education teaching activities internally showcased through teaching awards, letters of commendation to Deans and Department Heads, recognition in newsletters, etc.?
- Are Continuing Education remuneration rates for full-time University faculty set by market considerations or limited by the institution?
- If rates are arbitrarily limited, does the Dean/Director participate actively in decision-making structures which can change these constraints?
- Do Continuing Education academic staff have compensation, promotion and tenure opportunities equivalent to those in other units?
- If not, does the Dean/Director participate actively in decision-making structures which can change this?

- Does the Unit have clear, written hiring and promotion criteria which priorize and articulate educational requirements?
- If not, is there a council or committee structure within the Unit which can be charged with developing a draft response to this task?

Budgetary Resources and Supports

As mentioned above, this variable has received some attention in the literature, as in Devlin's (1986) study with respect to marginality. Because it has been dealt with in greater depth by others, and because of its universally recognized importance to Unit and program operation, this discussion will be confined to highlighting current budgetary dilemmas and suggesting methods of measurement of the variable for the management purposes of the model.

At the risk of oversimplification, the following points attempt to summarize the situation currently facing most Continuing Education Units:

(1) Universities, as a whole, are in trouble. Prolonged government cutbacks have had an impact on capital plants and on instructional and research range and quality. Most Canadian Universities do not have a strong tradition of private fund-raising, as do many of their U.S. counterparts, and tuition costs remain a small percentage of institutional income.

(2) Cutbacks are likely to increase, rather than decrease, for Universities in most provinces as federal EPF transfers are reduced, and as provincial governments wrestle with debt reduction and increased service demands on a broad front.

(3) Within Universities, Continuing Education is a poor cousin. Most are perceived as service or donor Units, not performing core functions of the institution. Many institutions do not have Continuing Education as part of their mission statement. Most, if not all, have internal decision-making structures which weight power disproportionately toward the traditional faculties. Continuing Education does not receive high budgetary priority.

(4) Within its global poor-cousin status, certificate credit, continuing professional education and general interest offerings have even less value to the institution than degree-credit extension. Units are under considerable pressure either to discontinue such offerings or to price them at full cost recovery levels which may make them unmarketable, given locked-in staff and capital recovery charges. As well, these pressures force confrontation on basic educational values, and many Unit managers do not have a strong

institutional powerbase from which to fight such battles. It should be noted in passing that the priorization of degree over non-degree programs is, in some Units, not a wholly external confrontation. In many cases, Continuing Education academics have consciously or sub-consciously, for personal or professional reasons, chosen the values of the institution rather than the values of their own professional field.

In response to these dilemmas, Continuing Education Units have some options for action, none of which are mutually exclusive, and all of which interact with other variables in this proposed model:

(1) Units can campaign within the institution for higher budgetary priority through active senior management advocacy on budget committees, Deans' councils, the Senate, and through direct lobbying of senior administrators and board members.

(2) In a reasonably discreet manner, the Dean/Director can conduct lobbying and advocacy activities on the Unit's behalf with provincial officials who have post-secondary program or funding responsibilities.

(3) The Unit indirectly can lobby key business and professional leaders in the community to support increased baseline funding by clearly and articulately presenting the Unit's case and by concurrently fulfilling critical community program needs in a timely and professionally sensitive way.

(4) Units can seek more external funding through program grants, training contracts, tuition increases, added fee-for-service activities, etc. This involves some investment risk of scarce Unit resources, but may have long-term paybacks if the Unit is clear about its program priorities and resource capacities before undertaking such developmental activities.

If this, in general, is the budgetary case, how best to measure movement in the variable? A sub-formula may be a useful approach, much like that attempted in the first three variables in the model:

- What proportion of the Unit's annual income is baseline money?
- What proportion of the Unit's annual income is renewable program grants?

- What proportion of the Unit's annual income is from one-time grant or tuition fees?
- What has been the annual percentage increase or decrease in baseline dollars during each of the past five years? Is there a trend present in those figures?
- If the institution has an academic or long-range plan, what priorization does Continuing Education have within it (e.g., with regard to space allocation, allocation of additional monies, distribution of potential cutbacks, access to special grants for academic development, etc.)?
- Does the Dean/Director sit on the University's budget advisory committee or some equivalent, high-level, budgetary decision-making structure?
- What degree of control does the Unit exercise over its own budget? Does the institution budget globally or are faculty budgets defended on a line-by-line basis?
- Has the Unit increased or decreased program activity during the past five years? Have the increases or decreases taken place in degree or non-degree programs?
- Has the Unit developed its own mission statement and goals with respect to degree versus non-degree activity?
- If so, are Unit activities and resource allocations consonant with these value statements?
- Does the Unit have fund-raising resources of its own (e.g., staff time dedicated to intentional search and proposal writing)?
- What are the institutional penalties for failing to meet an income target or exceeding expenditure estimates? Against whom are those penalties directed - the Unit as a whole, or specific personnel?

Technical Resources and Supports

The technological resources and supports available to a Unit are of three varieties: educational, administrative and research. The first category includes the more routine technologies of audio-visual and graphic supports to programs, and the sexier technologies which support distance education. The second category includes computerized office technologies which enhance performance of clerical, accounting and other management tasks. The third category supports faculty research activity.

Access to audio-visual and graphic supports for programs would be recognized as a universal or "baseline" need by most Units. Whether distance education technologies are critical to the Unit will depend on its mandate and mission, the nature of its clientele, and its catchment area. All Units can benefit from appropriate use of office technologies, and nearly all could benefit from more research supports.

For purposes of the model, a useful measure of this variable might include, as with others above, development of a weighted, graduated scale for response to questions like the following:

- To what extent does the Unit have access to the distance education technologies it requires to achieve its program delivery and accessibility objectives?
- To what extent does the Unit utilize office technologies to automate routine clerical and accounting tasks in order to provide efficient and effective service to its clients?
- Does the Unit have an accessible, automated database on its clients and their characteristics which is used for needs assessment and program evaluation, as well as for marketing, purposes?
- Does the Unit's accounting system provide timely, accurate and well-aggregated information which assists management decision-making? Is that information, in fact, used to inform decision-making?
- Do Unit faculty have access to adequate library and other databases for conducting meaningful and credible research?

Conclusions

The rather elaborate exercise undertaken in this paper has two very simplistic purposes:

(1) to build the case that key variables affecting the management of University Continuing Education Units are interdependent, and to address each in isolation without contemplation of the effects of movement on other variables, at best, distorts reality and, at worst, is counter-productive for Unit managers; and

(2) to demonstrate that such key interdependent variables can be identified and, moreover, measured.

With regard to the first purpose, the above discussion begins to depict the interdependency of the variables identified in this case. For example, faculty resources, budgetary resources and University commitment clearly have an endogenous relationship. Increased University commitment (as in the measures indicated) is likely to result in organizational rewards, including appropriate recognition for participating faculty and higher priority for Continuing Education in the allocation of baseline funds. Increased organizational recognition of faculty participation is likely to increase University commitment and, in the long-run, budgetary resources. Increased budgetary resources are likely to make Continuing Education participation more attractive for faculty and, in the long-run, to foster an institutional value for what has been financially supported. A significant decrease in any of these three variables is likely to have a similar ripple effect on the other two.

Similarly, there is an endogenous relationship between community commitment and budgetary resources. Increased community commitment can result in more access to external funding, including renewable grants. If the community expresses its valuation of Continuing Education activities powerfully, the endogenous triangle would extend to University commitment. Senior administrators are no longer as insensitive to public opinion of their institutions as they were in headier financial days. Already there has been some experience in Western Canada of what happens when the University treads too heavily on Continuing Education toes and the community speaks back. The Saskatchewan experience has many positive lessons for other Unit managers.

In addition, there may be a less powerful endogenous relationship between budgetary resources and technological resources and supports.

Many of the other variables appear to us to be exogenous. They have a powerful impact on the total equation, but do not result in simultaneous change in another variable. For example, changes in the organizational culture of the Unit do not have a simultaneous impact on faculty or budgetary resources, but a Unit which believes itself to be more master than victim of its own fate is bound to fare better in the long-run, and has increased its chances for achieving positive change in other endogenously-related variables. Likewise the social/public policy filter of the Unit manager will have a long-term impact on budgetary resources and community commitment, as well as on faculty resources (particularly within the Unit), but there is no simultaneous movement.

The individual nature of the appropriate model for each institution and Unit must again be stressed. Our attempts to suggest methods of variable measurement reflect our own biases and experiences. They are surely flawed, as well as skewed, but they represent a beginning for what we believe is an important task. To survive the current and anticipated challenges facing Continuing Education Unit managers in the next decade, we must move beyond fighting fires on individual issues. It is imperative to see the relationships between issues and to identify points of action and strategy for movement. It is hoped that this attempt to conceptualize the management task differently will stimulate discussion and management experimentation, resulting in new and constructive directions for the field of the University Continuing Education.

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Adult Education and Women;
Problems and Perspectives in Historical Research

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Adult Education and Women;
Problems and Perspectives in Historical Research

This paper addresses a number of problems and perspectives which concern the on-going research project "English Language Adult Education in Quebec, 1850-1950".* The problems to be highlighted are four: 1) the scope of study; 2) the lack of prior study; 3) definition; and 4) perspectives.

The Problem of Scope

The project referred to is intended to provide a profile of various adult education practices which have evolved for the English speaking collectivity in the Province of Quebec over the one hundred year period, 1850-1950.(1) The dates chosen are somewhat arbitrary. By 1850, there was a significant anglophone population in the Province and sufficient institutional and educational development to warrant the starting point. The date 1950, marks the period of reconstruction following the Second World War and is

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just prior to the enormous educational expansion and "Quiet Revolution" in the 1960's.

The task of the project is to map and describe the various adult education practices which evolved; their genesis; the educators; the learners; the educational means; content; methods; and values. In short-script, the inquiry centers on: who was teaching what to whom, when, where, how, and why.

The areas to be studied include adult education institutes and associations; public schools, colleges, and universities; media, that is, libraries, museums, newspapers, and radio; labour, business, and industry; vocational and technical; health and welfare; religious institutions; education for women; for the professions; for self-fulfillment; community- based; and in both urban and rural settings. Obviously, the areas are numerous; the scope comprehensive.

The goal of the research project is to mark the parameters of education for the English speaking adults of Quebec. It is not to produce a study in depth. This is hardly possible at this stage of inquiry. It is, to document the past; to locate and identify sources; and to describe various practices. The problem of sheer scope is matched equally by the lack of prior study. Other than the work undertaken by the Jean Commission, there has been virtually no prior historical study on adult education for the English speaking population in Quebec.(2) Even at that, the Jean Commission's historical probe was extremely limited in time and personnel.(3)

The Problem: Lack of Prior Study

The lack of prior study, in addition to the enormous scope, imposes a great burden of responsibility, aside from the exciting challenge of discovery. There is no literature to draw on, to develop, and to build on. There is no basis for critique. The data collection depends almost entirely on primary sources -- archival materials, letters, minutes, annual reports, oral histories, newspaper clippings, and other such. The immediate problem, however, is the delimitation of the object of study. For this, definition becomes critical.

Before we turn to the problem of definition, there is another related difficulty. Adult education practices are enmeshed with the entire fabric of social life. All kinds of histories are needed -- social, cultural, economic, church, community, labour, women, etc. For the most part these too are lacking and need to be reconstructed. In a light vein, McCullogh puts the problem well. He writes,

> Extracting adult education from its surrounding social milieu -- or at least differentiating adult education from the social milieu -- is as dificult as determining how many angels can dance on the head of a pin. Is adult education a practice or a program? A methodology or an organization? A "science" or a system? A process or a profession? Is adult education different from continuing education, vocational education, higher education? Does adult education have form and substance or does it merely permeate the environment like air? Is adult education therefore, everywhere yet nowhere in particular? Does adult education exist? (K. Owen McCullogh, 1980).

The Problem of Definition

The question of definition is one that adult education scholars have been grappling with for some time.(4) Quite recently, the Adult Education Quarterly (1985) focused once again "on defining the field". In this issue, Lawson stressed that,

> ...within our culture, the concept (and the related practice) of adult education is not unitary and any attempt to provide overall definitions does a gross injustice to the field. If we insist that research took place only within tightly defined parameters of adult education properly so called, is there not a danger of our losing much of importance?

> We are dealing with shifting and flexible concepts which are used in a range of Wittgenstinian "language games" and we have to live with this fact. The education of adults includes such diverse areas as liberal education, technical education, religious education, community education, literary and degree programmes. Now, terms such as lifelong, recurrent and continuing education have to be taken into account. It seems doubtful therefore whether a reduction to a common set of values, purposes, methods and modes or organization can do justice to such variety. A quite pragmatic approach to research seems to be inevitable (Lawson, 1985:42).

Lawson articulates the problems of definition that faces us. The concept (and related practice) is not monolithic, but complex and multidimensional, as well as in states of flux. We agree with him that a reduction of the concept would do injustice to the richness and variety of actual practices, both present and past. We turn then to the UNESCO definition (Faure, 1972) in all its fullness.

The UNESCO definition serves in an orienting fashion. In schematic terms, adult education is defined as:

1 - the entire body of organized educational processes, whatever the content, level and method; whether formal or otherwise,

2 - whether they prolong or replace initial education in schools, colleges, and universities as well as apprenticeship

3 - whereby persons regarded as adults by their society

   3.1. develop their abilities

   3.2. enrich their knowledge

   3.3. improve their technical or professional qualifications or turn them in a new direction and

   3.4. bring about changes in their attitudes or behaviour

   3.5. in the twofold perspective of full personal development and participation in social, economic and cultural development

   (in Gouvernement du Quebec, 1982:7)

For historical research, the first and second phrases -- those having to do with organized effort -- are not difficult to access; if of course records have been kept and not destroyed. Of all the practices, there has been the tendency to keep records for formal organized educational ones. With respect to the remaining aspects specified, we are guided to seek out educational processes which include the nonformal, the informal, as well as the development of abilities, technical skills, attitudes, behaviours, personal growth and involvement in social-economic- cultural development.

It is in consideration of these educational processes that delimitation is most difficult. What is to be included or excluded? Do we include the Order of Masons, for example? While these fellows did not have an explicit educational goal, some would argue that the very process of induction into the Order is an educational one. Do we include recreational activities? Do we, can we separate learning to ski and the pleasure and entertainment value of skiing, or folk dance, jazz ballet, and the like? What about such activities as women's quilting? Bovey (1937, 1938) made the case for the educational value of handicrafts some time ago. One can readily see the development of trade skills in the process of learning to do handicrafts. One may not so readily see the activity of, say, embroidery, as more than that. Yet, a magazine article points out that as girls learned sewing skills doing "samplers", they also picked up on basic literacy (Light and Strong-Boag, 1980:85).

In the third phrase of the definition -- "Whereby persons regarded as adults by their society" leads us to question our idea of adults. Who were adults in 1850? Both girls and boys did adult work. Do they come into our study? Girls often attended meetings with their mothers at the Women's Institutes. Are they to be included? And women. It is well known that for some time women were not considered persons. The issue here is not necessarily their status, but the general lack of written record with respect to women's private lives and informal activities.(5)

This line of questioning leads us to consider what is meant by "education", "adult", "woman". And from my perspective, as a cultural sociologist, the very idea of "doing history" must be questioned.(6) The project undertaken is an historical one, which makes the very process and procedures open for scrutiny and reflection.(7)

On Perspectives

The problems outlined -- scope, lack of prior study, definition -- impel the search for solutions. From my point of view, this means the development and formulation of appropriate concepts or constructs. Notwithstanding the cautionary note of Boyd and Apps (1980), it is necessary to turn outside of the field of adult education itself. Boyd and Apps (1980) have criticized those who borrow without discretion from other disciplines. Their point is well made. Yet, as Lawson has implied in the quote noted earlier: "if we insist that research takes place only within tightly defined parameters of 'adult education properly so called', is there not a danger of our losing much of importance?" (Lawson, 1985:42). In my view, if we proceed by understanding clearly just what we borrow -- the implications of various perspectives -- we stand to gain a great deal in interdisciplinary synthesis. Consequently, it is from four different, or even contradictory, analytical perspectives -- genealogical, dialogical, formational, and feminist -- that I draw on to develop the research process.

Genealogical Analysis

If we are "doing history", what kind of history is it? The perspective of deconstruction and the genealogical approach of Michel Foucault is instructive in that it probes and questions traditional historical study.(8) Michel Foucault has written:

> Genealogy does not pretend to go back in time to restore an unbroken continuity that operates beyond the dispersion of forgotten things; its duty is not to demonstrate that the past actively exists in the present, that it continues secretly to animate the present, having imposed a predetermined form to all its vicissitudes. Genealogy does not resemble the evolution of a species and does not map the destiny of a people. On the contrary, to follow the complex course of descent is to maintain passing events in their proper dispersion;

> it is to identify the accidents, the minute deviations - or conversely, the complete reversals - the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things that continue to exist and have value for us; it is to discover that truth or being do not lie at the root of what we know and what we are, but the exteriority of accidents (in Bouchard, 1977:146).

At this early stage of historical study, we are thus reminded and sensitized that in our search what we may find are fragments, lack of continuity, accidents, errors, reversals, and the like. Considerations of history as genealogy serves in a general, orienting fashion. It cautions against history as a determinism, as certainty, as complete wholeness. It wards against such falacies as origins, presentism, and finalism.(9)

To reiterate, a genealogical understanding is suitable for the adult education project in a sensitizing and orienting fashion. A complete picture is not possible. A static, presentist, historicist position is not desirable. What we do need to know is what adult education practices were in earlier periods and understand what they have become today. What we do need is a "history for and of the present".

While drawing on Foucault's genealogical analysis for orientation and perspective, an overall uncritical acceptance of Foucault's problematic is undesirable.

There are too many yet unresolved questions and paradoxes. Foucault is too much of a reader of Nietzsche for us to accept his thinking as a whole.

Dialogical Analysis

There is a second perspective that informs the research: dialogical analysis; drawing on Paulo Freire. By definition, "dialogue is the encounter between men" [and women] meditated by the world in order to name the world (Freire, 1970:76). This idea of dialogue articulated by Freire permeates the on-going research project at different levels or dimensions. For example, we suggest that, the relations between theory and practice -- in this case, between definition and data -- are dialogical. There is a continuous oscillation between the definition we begin with and the empirical findings derived from the historical search; one informing the other in a continuous dialogue, or in the much overused term, dialectic. There is this continuous and intentional to-and-fro process between the other dimensions -- philosophical and epistemological, theoretical, methodology, and the substance -- of the research.(10)

Formational Analysis

The idea of formational analysis is developed out of Raymond Williams's deliberations in the sociology of culture.(11) He writes that,

> ... we have to deal not only with general institutions and their typical relations, but also with forms of organization and self-organization which seem much closer to cultural production (1981:57).

Not only does Williams include formal institutional organizations but a whole range of associations, including that of movements. In specifying the possibilities of a formational analysis, Williams makes the limits clear, as such:

> No full account of a particular formation or kind of formation can be given without extending description and analysis into general history, where the whole social order and all its classes and formations can be taken properly into account -- Again, no full account of a formation can be given without attending to individual differences inside it. Formations -- may be seen to occur, typically, at points of transition and intersection within a complex social history -- (1981:84).

A formational analysis is extremely helpful in the construction and reconstruction of adult education practices in years past. Definitive and operational constructs are provided.

Under the construct of formations we are led to examine both the internal organization and the external relations of such diverse structures of groups, schools, schools of thought, brotherhoods, sisterhoods, clubs, circles, national organizations, movements, etc. The external relations lead us to consider the wide and diverse networks of relations. For example, a major part of the research project is devoted to those formations and networks initiated, developed and sustained by women for women. For the focus on women's groups and education, we draw on the gender-specific perspective of feminist historical research.

Feminist Historical Analysis

There is a great urgency for women to recover or uncover their past. For women, the lack of past knowledge is tantamount to the loss of memory in an amnesia victim. As Pierson and Prentice put it,

> The sense of self depends on having a sense of one's past, and to the extent that modern women have been denied, in the historical canon, all but the faintest

> glimpses of their own history, they are like victims of amnesia (1982:110).

The knowledge gap, or "epistemological amnesia", has serious implications for women. It is integrally related to ourselves and our sense of identity. We know little of our past strivings and strengths, successes and failures, conditions and constraints, and possibilities. The immediate goal is an epistemological one: to come to know.

For women, documentation of practices is critical. Yet, as Lagemann notes,

> ...however valuable, school centered approaches cannot allow for the mapping and analysis of the full range of institutional and interpersonal resources to which individuals and groups have turned in search of educational opportunity and, leaving aside available evidence, even common sense would argue that many of the educational settings and experiences that can only be isolated through such mapping and analysis would have been likely to have been extremely important to women, not only because women have been excluded and steered away from some types and levels of schooling, but also because their interests and aspirations sometimes have encouraged them to search out, design, create, and use opportunities for learning that could not be found in formal institutions of schooling (1983:260).

The informal learning situations are primary for women. This is especially so in the 19th and early part of the 20th century when women had few opportunities for formal and higher education. So often women involved in Church-based activities also created educational opportunities. Activities and organizations, created for the social benefit of others, became learning sites for women. A multitude of activities that were domestic constitute what can be considered the best of process-centered education. In all these situations, process-centered education, rather than school-centered education, to use Lagemann's terms, "nurtured women's talents, trained skills, developed and enhanced self-concept; in fact, did all that education was meant to do" (Lagemann, 1983:259).

In drawing on the feminist historical perspective, the feminist principles of equality and choice are brought to the fore. What this means in practical terms is a critical reassessment and use of received works. Programmatically,

> ...if the promise implicit in women's history is to be realized, a central task for historians during the 1980's will be to develop the kinds of theoretical constructs that can make the study of differences between men and women not an incidental or isolated problem, but an integral element of all historical work (Lagemann, 1983:252).

This means that a necessary part of the research undertaken is devoted to locating, uncovering, and describing education designed especially for and by women. It also means that we would question how women's educational practices relate to men's and to other women's in different situations (i.e. class) and in different locales, as well as to the general social, economic, political, ideological conditions and practices of the time.

In summary, a genealogical and a feminist historical perspective contribute to sensitize us to issues and problems in historical study. The ideas formulated provide a general orientation at this preliminary stage of inquiry. The formational analysis provides a developed and more concrete conceptual grid useful in the process of operationalization. A dialectica indicates not only the methodology but also characterizes how the other dimensions -- epistemological, philosophical, theoretical, and substantive relate to each other.

Conclusion

Historical study has been triple-blind with respect to the English-speaking social history in

Quebec, adult education history, and especially women's history. The first step in knowing that history is "naming and un-naming", in the poet Robert Kroetsch's words, "unhiding the hidden" (1974). By "naming and un-naming" Kroetsch is referring to our understanding of the world and of ourselves as Canadians through language and the imposition of received categories of language. What this means is, without knowledge of our history, we lack knowledge of ourselves, our identity. Further, Kroetsch talks about pride -- local pride. He writes,

> The feeling must come from an awareness of the authenticity of our own lives. People who feel invisible try to borrow visibility from those who are visible. To understand others is surely difficult. But to understand ourselves becomes impossible if we do not see images or ourselves in the mirror -- be that mirror theatre or literature or historical writing (1974:75).

This is true in a parallel sense for Canadians in relation to Americans as it is for women in relation to men. It is to name the unnamed, or re-name the named; it is to un-hide the hidden; to make visible the invisible; to speak the unspeakable; to un-conceal; to dis-close, and to dis-cover or re-cover: to know ourselves in the mirror of historical writing: that is the task.

Endnotes

1. This study is a continuation of the work undertaken for the Jean Commission, Annexe I, L'education des adultes au Quebec depuis 1850; points de repere (Gouvernement du Quebec, 1982).It is being funded by SSHRC, Grant no. 440-84-1203, July 1985 - July 1987.

2. The Jean Commission constitutes a poineering study in the history of adult education for French and English speaking populations in the Province of Quebec.

3. There were two researchers expressly responsible for English language adult education history on the Jean Commission historical team of seven -- one for a 10 week period and one for a 4 week period.

4. See R. Boyd and J.W. Apps, et al. (1980) bibliography for literature on defining adult education.

5. That women have been absent from the main record in Canadian history is now well recognized (Prentice and Trofimenkoff, 1985; Pierson and Prentice, 1982). Van Kirk advises that "it is only within the decade of the 1970's that Canadian women's history has come into existence (1979:6).

A most excellent American volume edited by Carroll (1976) indicates that American scholars of women's history predates Canadian by almost a decade. Carroll notes that by 1976, there is "a recurrent demand for theory in the field of women's history"; that "descriptive texts are the mainstay of historical writing; and that the emphasis is on the fundamental tasks: "recovery of source materials," "resurrecting and reassessing the lost history of women" (1976:ix).

During the past decade there have been efforts to redress the Canadian situation (see Van Kirk, 1985;

Prentice and Trofimenkoff, 1985). Along with a growing number of monographs, there is the book-length bibliography by Light and Strong-Boag (1980); Silverman's review article undertaken by the Canadian Historical Review (1982); and a second edited collection by Prentice and Trofimenkoff (1985). In Quebec there are now two major studies: the Clio Collectif's history of women in French Canada (1982) and Trofimenkoff's gender integrated social and intellectual history (1982). There is too Gillett's study of women at McGill (1981). Notwithstanding this progress, the impact on mainstream Canadian historiography remains dubious (Van Kirk, 1985:46).

6. Most recently Selman (1985) poses the question "What is History?" as did Carr (1961) in a seminal work. Carlson (1980) provides a clear and important explanation of humanistic historical research and adult education.

He makes a number of important points. Two are most relevant here: 1) "Historical research is not intended for problem solving or predicting or controlling human action...The proposal for a history study seldom requires an exhaustive description of methods and I should judiciously refrain from stating hypothesis locking into a social science theory, or articulating the study in the form of a problem" (1980:44); and 2) "Historical research discipline... urges the investigator to adopt a consistent philosophy of life and to let his research reflect that philosophy" (1980:44).

There is a difference, I agree, in the goals and approaches between historical study and dominant social science which patterns itself after the physical sciences. Whereas humanistic historical study aims towards understanding and interpretation, dominant social science often aims at explanation and control.

There is a vast literature dealing with these issues. It was of special interest in the German philosophical tradition in the 19th century (i.e. Dilthey, Sleiermacher and others) and to critical sociologists in the 20th (i.e. Adorno, Weber, Habermas).

While historical study is endemic to sociologists (i.e. Weber, Durkheim, Marx), it is approached from a different optic than do traditional historiographists. For a critique of traditional historiography, see Michel Brunet (1967:84-98) and Hamilton (1984).

7. It is in this respect that I would differ from Carlson's prescription. He writes, "Historians of adult education are wise to eschew theoretical frameworks for their studies, relying instead on the creation of historical context" (1980:46).

I do agree that context is important. In my view, however, the interpretative process and critical reflection are as important as contextual understanding. Current studies in language semiology structuralism, and cultural analysis, for example, indicate that a text is by no means obvious or transparent. Interpretation is defined as "the work which consists in deciphering the hidden meaning in the apparent meaning, in unfolding the levels of meaning implied in the literal meaning" (in Reagan 1978:98).

These are issues at a philosophical level which are important in considered history as text. Otherwise we are left with beautiful, anecdotal descriptions and a naive historiography.

8. Michel Foucault, the French philosopher, critic and historian gave his first inaugural address at the College de France in 1970. He is a prime exemplar of the deconstructionist perspective and has explicated the concept of history as genealogy. (See Foucault 1973, 1976, 1977, and in Gordon, 1980. For critique, see Drefus and Rabinow, 1982; Habermas, 1986).

"The term 'deconstruction' was first proposed by Derrida, to translate the "Destruktion" of which Heidegger speaks in "Being and Time", saying that it must not be understood in a negative sense (to demolish) but in a positive sense (to circumscribe). Before Derrida's introduction of the term, which was to be widely employed, it had existed only among grammarians for whom it designated the analysis of sentence "construction", which only comes to light when disturbed by deconstruction...Similarly, the aim of a "deconstruction" in philosophy would be to show how philosophical discourses are constructed...Such a programme is clearly critical..."(Descombes, 1980:79).

9. By the fallacy of origins is meant that it is in some metaphysical beginning that primordial truth is to be found. Presentism refers to the tendency to interpret or impute on the past present

understandings, values and ideas. In finalism is the determinist notion of history. It is not unlike historicism in that history is viewed as destiny (See Drefus and Rabinow 1982:104-125: Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History", in Bouchard, 1977:140-164).

10. Together these dimensions constitute a problematic or thought style. The idea of problematic is comparable to that of the Kuhnian notion of paradigm, except that problematic is of a lower order of abstraction. There can be, and usually are, a number of problematics within a major paradigm. In this paper, the term problematic or thought style is used in an heuristic way so as to provide some coherent systematization to the research project. I draw on the guidelines outlined by Glucksmann:

(1) epistemology: theory of knowledge and how it is to be acquired. Views on what sort of knowledge of the social world we can hope to achieve.
(2) philosophy: substantive and generalized world view, which incorporates certain values and puts limitations on the substantive theoretical postulates which also form part of the system.
(3) theory: substantive hypothesis to account for and explain observed facts, phenomena and events.
(4) methodology: lower level prescriptions as to the methods to be used in research, e.g. hypothetico-deductive method, subjectivism.
(5) description, or field of study, actual method of describing observations.

This is not an exhaustive list, and the numbering refers to descending levels of abstraction rather a hierarchy of determinacy (Glucksmann, 1974:10).

11. Raymond Williams -- Welsh railwayman's son, Cambridge Professor of drama -- has been reputed as Britain's outstanding marxist social critic. He has written on drama, literature, literary and dramatic criticism, semantic inquiry, communications, as well as social and political treatises. With Neal, I see Williams's problematic representing a constructionist stance in contradistiction to Foucault's deconstructionist platform. Williams's problematic is characterized by historical, holistic, and humanistic perspectives. For key texts by Williams, see 1977; 1980; 1981; on Williams, Zinman, 1984.

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